THE SCOTS MAGAZINE.

OCTOBER, 1774.

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An account of a new EPISCOPAL CHAPEL *in Edinburgh.*

ON Sunday, the 9th of October, divine ſervice was performed, for the firſt time, in the new chapel in Edinburgh, to a reſpectable and crowded audience. —— Some account of this religious fabrick will not, we hope, be unacceptable to our readers.

The three qualified chapels in this city being found very inconvenient, and too ſmall to contain their reſpective congregations, a few gentlemen of the Epiſcopal perſuaſion formed a reſolution of erecting a handſome chapel for the performance of divine worſhip after the uſage of the church of England, which ſhould be ſufficiently large to contain the congregations of all the three ſmall chapels. They purchaſed from the royal college of phyſicians a piece of ground in the heart of the city; and they ſet on foot a voluntary ſubſcription, which was the only ſource from whence they hoped to derive the neceſſary funds.

The firſt ſtone of this elegant building was laid on the 3d day of April 1771 [xxxiii. 326.] by his Excellency Sir Adolphus Oughton, Knight of the Bath, at that time Grand Maſter Maſon of Scotland; and, by the generous ſupport of ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed names both in church and ſtate, the managers have been enabled to carry on the work without interruption.

A decent degree of ornament has been

ſtudied in the plan of this pious work, without aiming at pomp or oſtentation; — and when the porticoes at each end of the chapel are built, it will be ornamental to the city, as well as properly adapted to the purpoſe for which it is calculated.

The copperplate repreſents the ſouth front of the chapel, as it will appear when the porticoes are added. In length it is 90 feet, and in breadth 65; and it is capable of containing about 1000 people. — A very fine organ, built by Snetzler of London, is put up in it; and the altar-piece is beautifully decorated with ſome ſcripture-pieces, judiciouſly choſen, and finely painted by Mr Runciman.

It is worthy of obſervation, and muſt give ſincere pleaſure to every thinking perſon, that the times in which we live are diſtinguiſhed by a truly Chriſtian ſpirit of charity and toleration. People of all perſuaſions have chearfully and liberally contributed to this pious work: nor have we heard of any objection made but to its ſituation; which is generally wiſhed to have been in a more conſpicuous part of the town.

It is to be hoped, that the public will continue their generous aid, that the managers may ſoon be enabled to complete the plan, by the addition of the porticoes; which have been delayed ſolely from a deficiency in the neceſſary funds.

Contributions are received by Meſſ. Coutts bankers in the Strand, Meſſ. Drummonds bankers Charing Croſs, and the Exchange banking-company St James's ſtreet, London; and by Sir William Forbes, James Hunter, and Company, bankers, Edinburgh. We hear the managers ſoon intend to publiſh a liſt of the ſubſcribers.

Anecdote of the late Dr GOLDSMITH.

DUring the mayoralty of Alderman T—, Dr Goldſmith being in the ſame box at the playhouſe with the Lord Mayor, Lord ——— happening to come in, the Lord Mayor introduced the Doctor to his Lordſhip; who very politely aſked him home with him to ſupper. The table converſation, after many other ſubjects, at laſt ſettled on politics; when the Doctor, with that thoughtleſſneſs of temper which at times ſo peculiarly marked his character, called out to Lord S———, "Pray, my Lord, what is the reaſon the people call you *Malagrida?*" His Lordſhip, *hinſing*, replied, "Indeed, Doctor, I can't tell." — "Well," continues the Doctor, "I am ſure it is very abſurd to call you by that name; for Malagrida, your Lordſhip knows, was a very *honeſt man.*"

AMERICAN PAPERS, &c. [456.].

Extracts from the inſtructions to the deputies from Virginia to the general congreſs at Philadelphia, dated, Williamſburg, Aug. 6.

To obtain redreſs of their grievances, without which the people of America can neither be ſafe, free, nor happy, they are willing to undergo the great inconvenience that will be derived to them from ſtopping all imports whatſoever from G. Britain after the firſt day of November next, and alſo to ceaſe exporting any commodity whatſoever to the ſame place after the 10th day of Auguſt 1775. The earneſt deſire we have to make as quick and full payment as poſſible of our debts to G. Britain, and to avoid the heavy injury that would ariſe to this country from an earlier adoption of the non-exportation plan, after the people have already applied ſo much of their labour to the perfecting of the preſent crop, by which means they have been prevented from purſuing other methods of clothing and ſupporting their families, have rendered it neceſſary to reſtrain you in this article of non-exportation; but it is our deſire that you cordially co-operate with our ſiſter-colonies, in general congreſs, in ſuch other juſt and proper methods as they, or the majority, ſhall deem neceſſary for the accompliſhment of theſe valuable ends.

The proclamation iſſued by Gen. Gage [359.] in the government of the province of the Maſſachuſet's-bay, declaring it treaſon for the inhabitants of that province to aſſemble themſelves to conſider of their grievances, and form aſſociations for their common conduct on the occaſion, and requiring the civil magiſtrates and officers to apprehend all ſuch perſons, to be tried for their ſuppoſed offences, is the moſt alarming proceſs that ever appeared in a Britiſh government: That the ſaid Gen. Gage hath thereby aſſumed and taken upon himſelf powers denied by the conſtitution to our legal ſovereign; that he not having condeſcended to diſcloſe by what authority he exerciſes ſuch extenſive and unheard-of powers, we are at a loſs to determine, whether he intends to juſtify himſelf as the repreſentative of the King, or as the commander in chief of his Majeſty's forces in America. If he conſiders himſelf as acting in the character of his Majeſty's repreſentative, we would remind him,

him, that the ſtatute 25th Edward III. has expreſſed and defined all treaſonable offences; and that the legiſlature of G. Britain hath declared, that no offence ſhall be conſtrued to be treaſon, but ſuch as is pointed out by that ſtatute; and that this was done to take out of the hands of tyrannical kings, and of weak and wicked miniſters, that deadly weapon which conſtructive treaſon had furniſhed them with, and which had drawn the blood of the beſt and moſt honeſt men in the kingdom; and that the King of G. Britain hath no right by his proclamation to ſubject his people to impriſonment, pains, and penalties.

That if the ſaid Gen. Gage conceives he is impowered to act in this manner, as the commander in chief of his Majeſty's forces in America, this odious and illegal proclamation muſt be conſidered, as a plain and full declaration, that this deſpotic viceroy will be bound by no law, nor regard the conſtitutional rights of his Majeſty's ſubjects, whenever they interfere with the plan formed for oppreſſing the good people of the Maſſachuſet's-bay; and therefore that the executing, or attempting to execute, ſuch proclamation, will juſtify reſiſtance and repriſal.

Boſton, Aug. 14. His Majeſty having been pleaſed to appoint the Hon. Thomas Oliver, Eſq; to be Lieutenant-Governor of this province, his commiſſion was publiſhed in the council-chamber at Salem on Monday laſt; when the ſeveral oaths were adminiſtered by the Governor.— After which the following gentlemen took the oaths neceſſary to qualify themſelves for a ſeat in council, being appointed by *Mandamus* from his Majeſty, viz. The Hon. Thomas Oliver, Lieutenant-Governor, Thomas Flucker, Foſter Hutchinſon, Harriſon Gray, Joſeph Lee, Iſaac Winſlow, William Brown, James Boutineau, Joſhua Loring, William Pepperell, and John Erving, Eſqs.—Gen. Gage has ſummoned the remainder of the new-appointed council to meet him at the council-chamber at Salem on the 16th inſtant.

Boſton, Aug. 24. So many of the new council's accepting their places (no leſs than twenty-ſix out of thirty-ſix) has ſunk the hearts of the faction greatly, as all their threats were not ſufficient to intimidate theſe gentlemen from accepting.

Leiceſter, Aug. 25. Near 3000 people aſſembled, went to Mr Payne of Worceſter, and obliged him to reſign his commiſſion as counſellor. They alſo waited on Col. Murray at Rutland, for the ſame purpoſe; but not finding him at home, after ſearching the houſe and offices, the committee choſen wrote a letter, to inform him, if he did not reſign by the 10th of September, and publiſh it in the Boſton paper, they would wait on him again.

Many more reſignations appear in the Boſton gazette, viz.

Boſton, Sept. 5. Whereas I, Abijah Willard, of Lancaſter, have been appointed, by *Mandamus*, a counſellor for this province, and have, without due conſideration, taken the oath, I do now freely and ſolemnly declare, that I am heartily ſorry that I have taken the ſaid oath; and do hereby ſolemnly, and in good faith, promiſe and engage, that I will not ſit nor act in the ſaid council, nor in any other that ſhall be appointed in ſuch manner and form; but that I will, as much as in me lies, maintain the charter-rights and liberties of this province; and do hereby aſk forgiveneſs of all the honeſt worthy gentlemen that I have offended by taking the beforementioned oath, and deſire this may be inſerted in the public prints. Witneſs my hand, AB. WILLARD. *Sturbridge, Aug.* 25."

A ſimilar declaration was ſigned by Iſaac Winſlow, Eſq; another of the counſellors, and by the Hon. —— Gray, Eſq; treaſurer of the province.

Out of the thirty-ſix new appointed counſellors, twenty (excluſive of Mr Palmer, who is now abſent from the province, and Mr Wooldridge, who died before the *Mandamus* was received) have either refuſed to take the oath, or reſigned their ſeat at that unconſtitutional board.

John White of Charleſtown, and William Baldwine of Sudbury, Eſqs, juſtices of the peace, who ſigned their names to the addreſs preſented to Gov. Hutchiſon on his departure [287.], have ordered their names to be ſtruck out of the liſt, and declare they are ſorry they ever ſigned it.

On Wedneſday laſt the new divan, conſiſting of the wretched fugitives with whom the juſt indignation of their reſpective townſmen, by a well-deſerved expulſion, have filled this capital, uſurped the ſeats round the council-board in Boſ-

ſton. Their deliberations have not hitherto tranſpired; and with equal ſecrecy on Thurſday morning (half after four) about 260 troops imbarked on board thirteen boats at the Long Wharf, and proceeded up Miſtic river to Temple's farm, where they landed, and went to the powder-houſe on Quarry-hill, in Charleſtown bounds, whence they have taken 250 half-barrels of powder, the whole ſtore there, and carried it to the caſtle.

A detachment from this corps went to Cambridge, and brought off two field-pieces, which had lately been ſent there for Col. Barre's regiment. The preparation for this ſcandalous expedition cauſed much ſpeculation, as ſome who were near the Governor gave out, that he had ſworn the committee of Salem ſhould recogniſe or be impriſoned; nay, ſome ſaid, put on board the Scarborough, and ſent to England forthwith.

From theſe hoſtile appearances the county of Middleſex took the alarm, and on Thurſday evening began to collect in large bodies, with their arms, proviſions, and ammunition, determining by ſome means to give a check to a power which ſo openly threatened their deſtruction, and in ſuch a clandeſtine manner robbed them of the means of their defence. And on Friday morning ſome thouſands of them had advanced to Cambridge, armed only with ſticks, as they had left their fire arms, &c. at ſome diſtance behind them. Some indeed had collected on Thurſday evening, and ſurrounded the attorney-general's houſe, who is alſo judge of admiralty on the new plan for Nova Scotia; and being provoked by the firing of a gun from a window, they broke ſome glaſs, but did no more miſchief.

On perceiving the concourſe on Friday morning, the committee of Cambridge ſent expreſs to Charleſtown, who communicated the intelligence to Boſton, and their reſpective committees proceeded to Cambridge without delay. When the firſt of the Boſton committee came up, they found ſome thouſands of people aſſembled round the court-houſe ſteps, and Judge Danforth ſtanding upon them, ſpeaking to the body, declaring in ſubſtance, that having now arrived at a very advanced age, and ſpent the greater part in the ſervice of the public, it was a great mortification to him to find a ſtep lately taken by him ſo diſagreeable to his country, in which he conſcientiouſly had meant to ſerve them; but finding their general ſenſe againſt his holding a ſeat at the council-board on the new eſtabliſhment, he aſſured them that he had reſigned the ſaid office, and would never henceforth accept or act in any office inconſiſtent with the charter-rights of his country; and in confirmation of the ſaid declaration, he delivered the following certificate, drawn up by himſelf, and ſigned with his own hand, viz.

"Although I have this day made an open declaration to a great concourſe of people who aſſembled at Cambridge, that I had reſigned my ſeat at the council-board; yet for the further ſatisfaction of all, I do hereby declare under my hand, that ſuch reſignation has actually been made, and that it is my full purpoſe not to be any way concerned as a member of the council at any time hereafter. S. DANFORTH. *Sept.* 2. 1774."

Judge Lee was alſo on the court-houſe ſteps, and delivered his mind to the body in terms ſimilar to thoſe uſed by Judge Danforth, and delivered the following declaration, alſo drawn up and ſigned by him, viz.

"*Cambridge, Sept.* 2. 1774. As great numbers of the inhabitants of the county are come into this town, ſince my ſatisfying thoſe who were met, not only by declaration, but by reading to them what I wrote to the Governor at my reſignation, and being deſirous to give the whole county and province full ſatisfaction in this matter, I hereby declare my reſignation of a ſeat in the new conſtituted council, and my determination to give no further attendance. JOS. LEE."

Upon this, a vote was called for, to ſee if the body was ſatisfied with the declarations and reſignations aboveſaid; and paſſed in the affirmative nem. con.

It was then moved, to know whether that body would ſignify their abhorrence of mobs, riots, and the deſtruction of private property; and paſſed in the affirmative nem. con.

Col. Phips, the high ſheriff of the county, then came before the committee of the body, and complained, that he had been hardly ſpoken of for the part he had acted in delivering the powder in Charleſtown magazine to the ſoldiery; which the committee candidly conſidered, and reported to the body, that it was their opinion the high ſheriff was excuſeable,

excuſeable, as he had acted in conformity to his order from the commander in chief. Col. Phips alſo delivered the following declaration by him ſubſcribed, viz.

"Col. Phips's Anſwer to the Honourable Body now in meeting upon the common, viz.

That I will not execute any precept that ſhall be ſent me under the new acts of parliament for altering the conſtitution of the province of the Maſſachuſet's-bay, and that I will recall all the *Veniries* that I have ſent out under the new eſtabliſhment. DAVID PHIPS. *Cambridge, Sept.* 2. 1774."

Which was accepted as ſatisfactory.

The article deliberated upon by the divan laſt Wedneſday was, the diſarming of the town of Boſton, and as much of the province as might be; to which ſundry new counſellors adviſed.

Gov. Gage has at length laid his hand on private property, for he will not ſuffer a caſk of powder to be taken out of the powder-houſe on any account.

On Friday, about eight o'clock, Lt-Gov. Oliver ſet off from Cambridge to Boſton, and informed Gov. Gage of the true ſtate of matters, and the buſineſs of the people; which, as his Honour told the Governor, were not a mad mob, but the freeholders of the county; promiſing to return in two hours, and confer further with them on his own circumſtances as the Preſident of the Council. On Mr Oliver's return, he came to the committee, and ſignified what he had delivered to the body in the morning, viz. That as the commiſſions of Lieutenant-Governor and Preſident of the Council ſeemed tacked together, he ſhould undoubtedly incur his Majeſty's diſpleaſure if he reſigned the latter, and pretended to hold the former; and no body appearing to have any objection to his enjoying his place he held conſtitutionally, he begged he might not be preſſed to incur that diſpleaſure at the inſtance of a ſingle county, while any other counſellor held on the new eſtabliſhment: aſſuring them, however, that in caſe the mind of the whole province collected in congreſs, or otherwiſe, appeared for his reſignation, he would by no means act in oppoſition to it. This ſeemed ſatisfactory to the committee, and they were preparing to deliver it to the body, when Commiſſioner Hallowell came through the town on his way to Boſton. The ſight of that obnoxious perſon ſo inflamed the people, that in a few minutes above 160 horſemen were drawn up, and proceeded in purſuit of him on the full gallop. Captain Gardner of Cambridge firſt began a parley with one of the foremoſt, which cauſed them to halt till he delivered his mind very fully in diſſuaſion of the purſuit, and was ſeconded by Mr Deavens of Charleſtown, and Dr Young of Boſton. They generally obſerved, that the object of the body's attention that day ſeemed to be the reſignation of unconſtitutional counſellors, and that it might introduce confuſion into the proceedings of the day, if any thing elſe was brought upon the carpet till that important buſineſs was finiſhed; and in a little time the gentlemen diſmounted their horſes, and returned to the body.

But Mr Hallowell did not entirely eſcape, as one gentleman of a ſmall ſtature puſhed on before the general body, and followed Hallowell; who made the beſt of his way till he got into Roxbury, where Mr —— overtook and ſtopped him in his chaiſe. Hallowell ſnapped his piſtols at him, but could not diſengage himſelf from him, till he quitted the chaiſe, and mounted his ſervant's horſe, on which he drove into Boſton with all the ſpeed he could make, till the horſe falling within the gate, he ran on foot to the camp; through which he ſpread conſternation, telling them he was purſued by ſome thouſands, who would be in town at his heels, and deſtroy all friends of government before them.

A gentleman in Boſton obſerving the motion in the camp, and concluding they were on the point of marching to Cambridge from both ends of the town, communicated the alarm to Dr Roberts, then at Charleſtown ferry; who, having a very fleet horſe, brought the news in a few minutes to the committee, then at dinner. The intelligence was inſtantly diffuſed; and the people whoſe arms were neareſt, ſent perſons to bring them, while horſemen were diſpatched both ways to gain more certain advice of the true ſtate of the ſoldiery. A greater fervour and reſolution probably never appeared among any troops. The diſpatches ſoon returned; and aſſuring the body that the ſoldiers ſtill remained, and were likely to remain, in their camp, they reſumed their buſineſs with ſpirit, and reſolved to leave no unconſtitutional officer within their

their reach in poſſeſſion of his place. On this the committee aſſembled again, and drew up the paper, of which the following is a copy, and at the head of the body delivered it to Lt-Gov. Oliver to ſign: with which he complied, after obtaining their conſent to add the latter clauſe, implying the force by which he was compelled to do it. Mr Maſon, clerk of the county of Middleſex, alſo engaged in his office to do no one thing in obedience to the new acts of parliament impairing our charter.

"I Thomas Oliver, being appointed by his Majeſty to a ſeat at the council-board, upon and in conformity to the late act of parliament, intitled, *An act for the better regulating the government of the province of the Maſſachuſet's bay*, which being a manifeſt infringement of the charter-rights and privileges of this people, I do hereby, in conformity to the commands of the body of this county now convened, moſt ſolemnly renounce and reſign my ſeat at ſaid unconſtitutional board, and hereby firmly promiſe and engage, as a man of honour and a Chriſtian, that I never will hereafter, upon any terms whatſoever, accept a ſeat at ſaid board on the preſent novel and oppreſſive plan of government.

My houſe at Cambridge being ſurrounded by about four thouſand people, in compliance with their commands I ſign my name. THOMAS OLIVER. *Cambridge, Sept.* 2. 1774."

Of this tranſaction Lt-Gov. Oliver publiſhed the following account in the Maſſachuſets gazette of Sept. 8.

"In the publications of laſt Monday, the tranſactions at Cambridge, on Friday, the 2d of September, having been ſo generally related, I am conſtrained, in ſupport of my character, to give the public a more particular account of thoſe parts in which I was ſo unhappily involved.

EARLY in the morning of that day, a number of the inhabitants of Charleſtown, called at my houſe, to acquaint me, that a large body of people from ſeveral towns in the county were on their way coming down to Cambridge; that they were afraid ſome bad conſequence might enſue; and begged I would go out to meet them, and endeavour to prevail on them to return. In a very ſhort time, before I could prepare myſelf to go, they appeared in ſight. I went out to them, and aſked the reaſons of their appearance in that manner. They reſpectfully anſwered, "They came peaceably to inquire into their grievances, not with deſign to hurt any man." I perceived they were the landholders of the neighbouring towns, and was thoroughly perſuaded they would do no harm. I was deſired to ſpeak to them: I accordingly did, in ſuch a manner as I thought beſt calculated to quiet their minds. They thanked me for my advice; ſaid, they were no mob, but ſober, orderly people, who would commit no diſorders; and then proceeded on their way. I returned to my houſe. Soon after they had arrived on the common at Cambridge, a report aroſe, that the troops were on the march from Boſton. I was deſired to go and intercede with his Excellency to prevent their coming. From principles of humanity to the country, from a general love of mankind, and from perſuaſions that they were this orderly people, I readily undertook it. And is there a man on earth, who, placed in my circumſtances, could have refuſed it? I am informed I am cenſured for having adviſed the General to a meaſure which may reflect on the troops, as being too inactive upon ſuch a general diſturbance. But ſurely ſuch a reflection on the military can never ariſe but in the minds of ſuch as are entirely ignorant of theſe circumſtances. Where-ever this affair is known, it muſt alſo be known, it was my requeſt the troops ſhould not be ſent. But to return: As I paſſed the people, I told them of my own accord I would return, and let them know the event of my application: (not as was related in the papers, "to confer with them on my own circumſtances as Preſident of the Council.") On my return, I went to the committee. I told them, no troops had been ordered; and, from the account I had given his Excellency, none would be ordered. I was then thanked for the trouble I had taken in the affair; and was juſt about to leave them to their own buſineſs, when one of the committee obſerved, that as I was preſent, it might be proper to mention a matter they had to propoſe to me: it was, that although they had a reſpect for me as Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, they could wiſh I would reſign my ſeat at the board. I told them, I took it very unkind that they ſhould mention any thing on that ſubject; and among other reaſons I urged, that as Lieutenant-Governor,

Governor, I ſtood in a particular relation to the province in general, and therefore could not hear any thing upon that matter from a particular county. I was then puſhed to know, if I would reſign when it appeared to be the ſenſe of the province in general. I anſwered, that when all the other counſellors had reſigned, if it appeared to be the ſenſe of the province, I would reſign, I would ſubmit.

They then called for a vote upon the ſubject, and, by a very great majority, voted my reaſons ſatisfactory. I inquired whether they had full power to act for the people: and being anſwered in the affirmative, I deſired they would take care to acquaint them of their votes, that ſo I ſhould have no farther application made me on that head. I was promiſed by the chairman, and a general aſſent, it ſhould be ſo. This left me entirely clear, and free from any apprehenſions of a further application upon this matter; and perhaps will account for that confidence which I had in the people, and for which I may be cenſured. Indeed it is true, the event proves too much; but reaſoning from events yet to come, is a kind of reaſoning I have not been uſed to.

In the afternoon I obſerved large companies pouring in from different parts: I then began to apprehend they would become unmanageable; and that it was expedient to go out of their way. I was juſt going into my carriage, when a great croud advanced; and in a ſhort time my houſe was ſurrounded by three or four thouſand people, and one quarter-part in arms. I went to the front-door, where I was met by five perſons, who acquainted me, they were a committee from the people, to demand a reſignation of my ſeat at the board. I was ſhocked at their ingratitude, and falſe dealings, and reproached them with it. They excuſed themſelves, by ſaying, the people were diſſatisfied with the vote of the committee; and inſiſted on my ſigning a paper they had prepared for that purpoſe. I found I had been enſnared, and endeavoured to reaſon them out of ſuch ungrateful behaviour. They gave ſuch anſwers that I found it was in vain to reaſon longer with them. I told them, my firſt conſiderations were my honour, the next my life; that they might put me to death, or deſtroy my property, but I would not ſubmit. They began then to reaſon in their turn, urging the power of the people, and the danger of oppoſing them. All this occaſioned a delay, which enraged the multitude; who, preſſing into my back-yard, denounced vengeance to the foes of their liberties. They endeavoured to moderate them, and deſired them to keep back; for then they preſſed up to my windows, which were open: I could from thence hear them, at a diſtance, calling out for a determination, and (with their arms in their hands) ſwearing they would have my blood if I refuſed. The committee appeared to be anxious for me: ſtill I refuſed to ſign. Part of the populace growing furious, and the diſtreſs of my family, who heard their threats, and, ſuppoſing them juſt about to be executed, called up feelings which I could not ſuppreſs; and nature, ready to find new excuſes, ſuggeſted a thought of the calamities I ſhould occaſion if I did not comply. I found myſelf giving way, and began to caſt about to contrive means to come off with honour: I propoſed they ſhould call in the people to take me out by force; but they ſaid the people were enraged, and they could not anſwer for the conſequences: I told them I would take the riſk; but they refuſed to do it. Reduced to this extremity, I caſt my eyes over the paper, with a hurry of mind, and conflict of paſſion, which rendered me unable to remark the contents, and wrote underneath the following words, "My houſe at Cambridge being ſurrounded by four thouſand people, in compliance with their commands, I ſign my name, THOMAS OLIVER." The five perſons took it, carried it to the people, and I believe uſed their endeavours to get it accepted. I had ſeveral meſſages, that the people would not accept it with thoſe additions. Upon which I walked into the court-yard, and declared I would do no more, though they ſhould put me to death.

I perceived that thoſe perſons who formed the firſt body, which came down in the morning, conſiſting of the landholders of the neighbouring towns, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to get the paper received, with my additions. And I muſt, in juſtice to them, obſerve, that during the whole of this tranſaction they had never invaded my incloſures, but ſtill were not able to protect me from the inſults which I received from thoſe who were in arms. From this conſideration

I am induced to quit the county, and ſeek protection in the town.

Boſton, Sept. 7. THOMAS OLIVER."

Boſton, Sept. 1. Laſt Tueſday, the day the ſuperior court was to be holden here, the Chief Juſtice, Peter Oliver, Eſq; and the other Juſtices, together with a number of gentlemen of the bar, attended by the high and deputy ſheriffs, walked in proceſſion from the ſtate houſe in Queen-ſtreet. When the court was ſeated, and the uſual proclamation made, a liſt of the names of the gentlemen returned to ſerve as grand jurors was preſented to them, and the court appointed Mr Ebenezer Hancock foreman. But he refuſing to be ſworn, and the queſtion being put to them all, ſeverally, Whether they would take the oath? they one and all refuſed: and being aſked, Whether they had any reaſons to offer for their thus refuſing? they anſwered, They had, and that they were committed to writing. The court requeſted to ſee them; but the jurors refuſed giving the court the original paper, unleſs they were firſt permitted to read it in court, or, after reading, the court would promiſe to return it to them again.

The petit jurors were then called for; and a liſt of their names being handed to the court, they appointed Mr Bartholomew Kneeland foreman of the firſt jury, and Mr Nathan Fraſer of the ſecond. Mr Kneeland had the oath propoſed to him, which he declined taking; and being aſked, for what reaſons? referred to a paper which he ſaid was drawn up with their unanimous conſent, and begged leave to read to the court. The court refuſed to hear the paper read; and the oath was propoſed to each juror in order, and declined, as by the foreman. Their reaſons being demanded, they generally referred to the paper, till it came to the turn of Mr Thomas Chaſe, who begged leave to read the paper in his hand; but was told by the Chief Juſtice, that he might give his own reaſons without reading the paper; to which he agreed, and ſaid, that one of his reaſons was, That Peter Oliver, Eſq; Chief Juſtice of that court, ſtood impeached by the late Hon. Houſe of Repreſentatives of this province, in their own name, and in the name of this province, of divers high crimes and miſdemeanors [245.]. Being aſked by the Chief Juſtice, If he gave that as a reaſon for his refuſing to be ſworn? he anſwered, "Yes, that is one reaſon." The court then called upon another of the petit jurors to be ſworn; but he refuſed, and referred to the paper for his reaſons, as aforeſaid.

The Chief Juſtice then deſired the court might peruſe the papers, which ſhould be returned to the jurors again; which was agreed to, read, and returned. The court then propoſed the ſame condition to the grand jury; which was complied with, and the contents delivered. The reaſons of the petit-jurors were as follows.

"Suffolk, ſſ. Boſton, Aug. 30. 1774.
To the Hon. the Juſtices of the Superior Court of Judicature, Court of Aſſize, &c.

May it pleaſe your Honours,

We the ſubſcribers, returned by this county to ſerve as petit jurors this term, beg leave to acquaint your Honours, that as the Hon. Peter Oliver, Eſq; ſtands impeached by the late Hon. Houſe of Commons of this province, in their own name, and in the name of the people of this province, of high crimes and miſdemeanors; which impeachment, with the reaſons therefor, as they are public, would be needleſs for us to repeat;

We would alſo beg leave to acquaint your Honours, that as by a late act of the Britiſh parliament, the continuance of the Judges of the Superior Court is, ſince the firſt of July laſt, made to depend upon ſaid act, which it is apprehended places their dependence entirely upon the crown, and which is eſteemed a great infringement of the charter-rights of this province:

Taking the above premiſſes into our moſt ſerious conſideration, we beg leave to acquaint your Honours, that we cannot in our conſciences, from a ſenſe of that duty we owe to our country, to ourſelves, and to poſterity, act againſt the united voice of this people: Therefore, beg your Honours will excuſe us when we ſay, we decline ſerving as petit jurors for this court.

Signed by 33 Citizens."

After the court had read the papers, the clerk of the court, by order of the Chief Juſtice, aſked them, ſeriatim, if they would be ſworn? and every one refuſed. The court ſaid, they would conſider of their reaſons; and the juries withdrew. The court then adjourned till ten o'clock next day; when they met, excluſive of Mr Oliver; and, to the inexpreſſible grief of their fellow-citizens, went on to ſuch buſineſs as is uſually tranſacted without juries.

The

The History of Europe, continued. [464.]

Of the Ottoman and Ruſſian empires.

THE time gained from the hurry and fury of war, during the negotiations at Foczani and Bucharest, was not unprofitably employed by the Porte. The diſorders indeed, which, partly from the relaxation of government, and partly from faults in its original conſtitution, had been accumulating for near a century, were become ſo numerous and obſtinate, that it ſeemed almoſt as difficult to determine which to begin with, as it was to form a right judgement upon the nature of the remedies which were neceſſarily to be applied.

Egypt was ſcarcely delivered from an enterpriſing uſurper, who had long thrown off all dependence on the Ottoman empire; who was ſtill ſtrongly ſupported, and was preparing to recover a country which he conſidered as his own, with all the eagerneſs that revenge and ambition could inſpire. Syria had long been a ſcene of open war and rebellion, and the preſervation of that and the neighbouring countries, became every day more precarious. The coaſts of the Leſſer Aſia were every where filled with violence and diſorder. The paſt relaxation of government, operating with its preſent weakneſs, and the contempt drawn upon it by the diſgraces and miſfortunes of the war, took away all reſpect and fear, and put an end to all order and ſubordination. The grandees of the country, and even the Turkiſh baſhas and officers, began to act like independent princes; to levy troops in their diſtricts, enter into civil wars, and openly, in defiance of law and juſtice, to purſue the gratification of their avarice and revenge, without fear, ſhame, or remorſe. In Europe, every thing to the north of the Danube and the Black ſea, except Oczacow and Kilburn, were already loſt, and a beaten, diſpirited, ungovernable ſoldiery, with the remains of a ruined navy, were left for the defence of the remainder.

In theſe deplorable circumſtances, the Ottomans had a ſovereign, who bore his miſfortunes with unparalleled firmneſs and dignity; and a miniſter, whoſe uncommon abilities gave hopes that he would redeem the errors of his predeceſſors. Of theſe they had already received a ſpecimen, which gave room for every hope in the future; as the addreſs with which Mouſſon Oglou concluded the armiſtice, and brought on the negotiations at Bucharest, may perhaps be ranked with the greateſt ſervices that any prince or ſtate ever received from a miniſter.

During this momentous interval of ceſſation, when every quarter preſented claims which at another time would have demanded his utmoſt attention, the Grand Vizir ſuperſeded all other conſiderations, to the great object of bringing about a reformation in the army. To effect this purpoſe, he kept the troops from diſperſing, and the janiſſaries from returning to Conſtantinople, as they had hitherto done at the end of the campaign; and thereby preſerved them from thoſe exceſſes and debaucheries which rendered them equally impatient of ſubmiſſion, and incapable of ſervice, upon their return to the camp. Their bodies were now, on the contrary, hardened by the length and ſeverity of a Bulgarian winter, where the harſhneſs of the climate, and the ruggedneſs of the country, made them neceſſarily experience degrees of hardſhip and fatigue, with which they had hitherto been little acquainted; while the Vizir himſelf, who was an avowed enemy to the Aſiatic luxury, taught them, by his own example, that vigilance, activity, and temperance, which he wiſhed them to practiſe; and being thus conſtantly under the eye, and in the power of their commanders, they became inſenſibly habituated to regularity and order. He at the ſame time took care, that they ſhould be plentifully ſupplied with neceſſaries, and their pay regularly iſſued; ſo that no real cauſe being left for complaint, the ſoldiers were aſhamed to murmur at doing what was only their duty.

Thus, by perſeverance and an unremitting induſtry, the Grand Vizir gradually curbed that licentiouſneſs which, during this war, had made the ſoldiers terrible only to their officers; while their diſobedience, and contempt of order and diſcipline, laid them continually open, as a defenceleſs prey to their enemies, and rendered their courage only a certain ſnare for their deſtruction. It is alſo ſaid, that by the aſſiſtance of ſeveral French officers, he has taken great pains to introduce the European diſcipline among the troops; and that the Turks, grown wiſe at length by their miſfortunes, have for once ſubdued their pride

and their prejudices, and now ſubmit to receive inſtructions, which they had ſo often refuſed, and ſo long deſpiſed.

A French renegade, who had been the conſul to that nation at the Dardanelles, and had baſely fixed the ſtigma upon his country, of producing the firſt public officer belonging to any weſtern ſtate, who had abandoned Chriſtianity, to embrace Mahometiſm, formed a kind of military ſchool, under the ſanction and immediate inſpection of the Grand Signior, which, in the preſent diſpoſition of the Turks, may be productive of ſome effect. This man having a competent degree of mathematical knowledge, and being well verſed in the management of artillery, had been employed, prior to his apoſtaſy, in repairing the caſtles, and erecting new fortifications at the Dardanelles; ſo that, independent of the defence of a fleet, that paſſage might, from its own ſtrength, be rendered impracticable to the Ruſſians. That ſervice having been performed to the ſatisfaction of the Porte, and this adventurer being now become its ſubject, he undertook the inſtruction of the Turkiſh engineers; and attended to this office with ſuch aſſiduity, that, it is ſaid, he has already accompliſhed a ſurpriſing improvement in the management of their artillery.

The appearances of peace, by no means ſlackened the preparations for war during the negotiations: new levies were made with great diligence, and ſhips were built, manned, and equipped, with the greateſt poſſible expedition. Theſe objects, together with the reſtoration of order and tranquillity in the provinces, were immediately attended to by the Grand Signior; while the Vizir, in purſuance of the plan he had formed, continued conſtantly with the army. In the mean time, the moſt admirable order and police were preſerved in the capital; which being purged of its ſupernumerary crouds by the war, and cleared of the idle and profligate, became, with its beautiful environs, the moſt pleaſant reſidence in the world.

The winter in Syria was too moderate to prove any reſtraint to the troubles in that country. Ali Bey, by the aſſiſtance of his faithful ally the Cheik Daher, and through that veneration and compaſſion which the brave and unfortunate experience more among barbarous tribes than civilized nations, was again grown conſiderable; and theſe leaders became every day more formidable. They, however, ſpent much time in the beſieging of towns, a ſervice for which the kind of troops that they commanded, were totally unfit, and for which they, notwithſtanding, ſeemed to have a great paſſion. Many inconſiderable places baffled their utmoſt efforts, notwithſtanding the aſſiſtance given them by the Ruſſians; and the decayed city of Jaffa, or Joppa, coſt them a ſiege of ſeven or eight months, though but meanly fortified, and as badly provided.

The taking of this place was, however, neceſſary to Ali Bey, as it greatly facilitated the enterpriſe which he was meditating againſt Egypt, and which he then immediately prepared to carry into execution. The forces which he was able to collect for this purpoſe, were very unequal to ſo great a deſign; but his eagerneſs to regain ſo deſirable a poſſeſſion, outweighed all other conſiderations, and prompted him to put every thing to the hazard.

He accordingly ſet out with about 13,000 men for Grand Cairo, and met with no obſtacle in his march, till he approached to that city; near which, at a place called *Salekie*, he found Mehemet Bey Aboudaab, May 7. 1773, too well prepared for his reception, at the head of an army of 60,000 men. Neither Ali Bey, nor his followers, were diſcompoſed at the ſight of this great army; and though it was on a Friday, a day which the Mahometans ſcrupulouſly dedicate to prayer, and which Aboudaab wanted to keep ſacred, by deferring the battle till the next day, they obliged him to change his reſolution. A deſperate engagement enſued, in which Ali Bey and his followers behaved with the utmoſt reſolution; but being alſo encountered, with a reſolution which they probably did not expect, they were at length overborne by numbers, and were almoſt all cut to pieces, not above 500 being taken priſoners, and their ſituation not admitting any to eſcape.

A ſon and a nephew of the Cheik Daher, with ſeveral other Beys, were among the ſlain. Ali Bey, after being deſperately wounded, was taken priſoner, and was the ſame day brought in that condition before the divan at Cairo. In this forlorn ſituation, he loſt his former reſolution, and throwing himſelf at the feet of Aboudaab, called him his ſon, and requeſted his life in the moſt endearing

endearing terms. The conqueror did not insult his misfortunes: he said he should receive no prejudice from him; but that he asked what it was not in his power to grant, as his life was in the hands of the Grand Signior only. Aboudaab kept his word; and an order was afterwards issued from Constantinople, for his being beheaded; but it is not known, whether he died of his wounds, or in consequence of that order.

Such was the fate of Ali Bey: a man who, independent of his ambition and rebellion, seemed possessed of several qualities that rendered him worthy of a better fortune. It does not seem extraordinary, that in his circumstances, he should have encountered any dangers, or engaged in any attempt, however desperate, that might afford a possibility of retrieving his affairs; but the attachment and intrepidity of his voluntary followers is truly astonishing, whose hearts, instead of being dejected at the sight of such an army, or of sinking under a consciousness of their own miserable situation, which afforded neither retreat nor shelter, on the contrary, beat high for the engagement; and without any resource, but their own native courage, fought, till they were cut to pieces, with all the confidence which arises in veteran troops, from a knowledge of their superiority in military skill and discipline.

There were about four hundred Russians, Greeks, and Albanians, in this ill-fated army, who kept in a distinct body, and had the management of the artillery, which amounted to twenty pieces of cannon, and with which they did great execution during the engagement. They also behaved with great courage, and were all killed to about twenty. Some Russian ships appeared at the same time upon the coasts of Egypt; but disappeared as soon as they found the unhappy turn that affairs had taken.

The news of this important success was received with great joy at Constantinople; which was still increased, by the arrival, soon after, of four years revenue that was due from Egypt, which had been kept back by the troubles, and was now sent as the first-fruits of the settlement of that country. In truth, this event was the most fortunate to the Turkish empire, of any that had taken place for many years. Besides the getting rid of a most daring and dangerous rebel, and the recovery of a noble country, on which the subsistence of the capital and the army in a great degree depended; this success served to restrain that spirit of disorder and revolt which was so prevalent in other parts, and had a happy effect at the same time in removing that dangerous despondency at home, which was the inevitable consequence of a continued series of misfortunes. It also shewed to its enemies, the vast resources of that great empire, where such a man as Aboudaab, with little more than the bare name of government to support him, could raise so considerable an army, in one of its most unsettled provinces.

The fate of his friend Ali Bey, did not discourage the Cheik Daher; who, seconded by his numerous sons and nephews, and well supported by the Druses, Mutualis, and other barbarous tribes, who have chosen to follow his fortunes, seemed to acquire new strength and courage by that event. He still carries on a very troublesome war in Syria, which keeps that and the neighbouring provinces in great disorder; nor does it seem probable, that the Porte will be able, before the conclusion of a peace, to restore the tranquillity of that country.

The fleet which the Porte was able to fit out this year at Constantinople, was only equal to the task of attending to the defence of the Dardanelles, and of preserving the dominion of the Black sea. A considerable part of it was employed in guarding the mouths of the Danube, to prevent any design the Russians might form for the invasion of Romania, by a sudden embarkation of troops aboard such vessels as they could procure in those vast channels. A second squadron was sent with troops, ammunition, and provisions, for the relief of Oczacow and Kilburn; and a third was sent with the new Tartar Chan, for the recovery of the Crimea. We are not well informed of any particulars relative to this expedition, except its having failed of success. The Russians say, that the Chan landed, and was defeated: and the Turks inform us, that the fleet having suffered much by tempests, was at length drove into the sea-ports of Amasia, and obliged to land the troops to refit; who being mostly natives of that country, seized the opportunity to disband, and retire to their respective homes, by which

the expedition was of neceſſity laid aſide.

This ſtate of inactivity, in which the Turkiſh marine was reſtrained by its weakneſs, ill ſuited the enterpriſing genius of the celebrated Haſſan, or Hoſſein Bey, the Captain Baſha or Admiral of the Black ſea. This brave commander, who had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf with great honour in the courſe of the war, particularly in the fatal ſea-fight at Ciſme, and by his bold and maſterly conduct in the expulſion of the Ruſſians from the iſlands of Lemnos and Metelino, upon finding that the Ruſſians had paſſed the Danube in the latter campaign, obtained leave from the Emperor to appoint a deputy for his naval command, and to go himſelf in the rank of Seraſkier, or principal general, to oppoſe the enemy. We have already ſeen the ſucceſs that attended his bravery and conduct upon that expedition, and the preciſion with which he fulfilled his promiſe to the Grand Signior [462.]; and as he ſeems at preſent to ſtand very fairly for being the ſecond man in that great empire, and that his hiſtory, beſides, is curious, it may not be improper to take ſome notice of it.

This extraordinary adventurer was born in Perſia; and, by one of thoſe ſudden revolutions of fortune, to which the natives of thoſe wide Aſiatic regions have, in all times, been more liable, than thoſe of any other part of the world, was reduced, in his infancy, to a ſtate of ſlavery. This early change in his condition, was the conſequence of one of thoſe irruptions, which the avarice of the Turks has continually prompted them to make into that ruined empire, ſince the death of Nadir Shah. He fell, by purchaſe, into the hands of a native of Rodoſto, in Romania, by whom he was brought up; but growing impatient of his condition, when he arrived at maturity, and the ſituation of that city upon the Propontis being favourable to his purpoſe, he, by the aſſiſtance of a Greek, made his eſcape to Smyrna.

As his genius lay wholly to war, and the Ottoman empire afforded no opportunity then for his indulging it, he liſted among the recruits that are uſually raiſed in that neighbourhood for the ſervice of the ſtate of Algiers, and was ſent, with the reſt, to Africa. The Algerines were then engaged in a hot war with the inland Moors, who are the original poſſeſſors and rightful owners of the country; but from whom that ſtate, partly by force, and more by fomenting the diviſions between their princes, extort a precarious ſubmiſſion. Our adventurer, by an extraordinary intrepidity, uncommon bodily endowments, and a preſence of mind and invention which found continual reſources in the greateſt dangers, was ſoon diſtinguiſhed from his fellows, and by a moſt rapid progreſs, roſe from being a ſlave, to the command of an army. Having now room for the exertion of his abilities, and the diſplay of his genius, he conducted the war ſo ſucceſsfully, and concluded it ſo much to the advantage of the ſtate, that the government of the city and province of Conſtantina, the richeſt and beſt belonging to Algiers, was conferred on him, as a reward for his ſervices.

But Haſſan ſoon experienced the effects of that envy which always attends fortunate merit: for though he preſerved his government for ſome years, he at length found ſo powerful a cabal formed againſt him at Algiers, that he had no other means for the ſaving of his life, and the wreck of his fortune, but by a precipitate flight into Spain; whither he carried the moſt portable and valuable of his effects.

The preſent King of Spain, having ſome knowledge of his merit and quality, gave orders that he ſhould be received and treated with diſtinction; and afterwards, at his own deſire, forwarded him to Naples. There he had the good fortune to freight a Daniſh ſhip, which afterwards proved the means of ſaving his life, and in which he embarked, with his effects, (which were worth 100,000 crowns) for Conſtantinople. Upon his arrival there, the agent from Algiers immediately obtained an order for the ſeizing of his perſon, as a deſerter from that ſtate; which having put in execution, he was next proceeding to the confiſcation of his effects. In this deſign he was, however, vigorouſly and ſucceſsfully oppoſed by Mr Gahler, the Daniſh miniſter at the Porte, who immediately ſent his janiſſaries on board the veſſel, and inſiſted upon ſupporting the honour of his maſter's flag, by protecting every thing that was in her.

As the diſcuſſion of this ſubject made ſome noiſe, and took up ſome time, it gave Haſſan Bey an opportunity, which he did not neglect, of having his affairs repreſented to the Grand Signior, and of ſhewing

ſhewing his ſervices to Algiers, and the deſign upon his life, which could have been only prevented by his flight. He at the ſame time declared his zeal for the Porte, and made a tender of his ſervice, in ſuch a manner, as ſhewed that he conſidered it to be of importance; an offer, which was the more acceptable, as the preſent war was either then begun, or in contemplation. It is alſo probable, that as his treaſure was, through the ſpirited conduct of Mr Gahler, at his own diſpoſal, he found means to employ ſome part of it to better purpoſe in the ſeraglio, than it would have anſwered in the hands of the Algerine agent. However that was, he was diſcharged, and immediately appointed to the command of a ſhip of the line. He afterwards acted as vice-admiral in the engagement at Ciſme, where the not taking his advice, in ſtanding out to ſea, and engaging the Ruſſians, firſt coſt the captain-baſha his fleet, and afterwards his head. In the general deſtruction of that night, Haſſan Bey ſignalized himſelf as uſual, he being the only Turkiſh officer that ſaved his ſhip; which he did, by forcing his way bravely through the Ruſſian fleet.

This extraordinary man is at preſent the idol of the people, who look upon him as the reſtorer of the Ottoman glory. It ſeems, indeed, as if the Grand Vizir and he may, not unaptly, be conſidered as the Fabius and Marcellus of the Turkiſh empire. The enterpriſing ſpirit and brilliant actions of the latter, are, however, better known and underſtood by the people, and more captivating to their imagination, than the ſtedfaſt, deliberate wiſdom, and judicious conduct of the former; and they are accordingly loud in their wiſhes, for Haſſan Bey's being promoted to his place. This muſt naturally breed a jealouſy between thoſe great officers, which may deprive the ſtate in a great meaſure of their ſervices, and poſſibly end in the ruin of one or the other. Whatever Haſſan Bey's merits may be, the Porte is probably indebted for its exiſtence to Mouſſon Oglou.

While the weſtern and northern boundaries of the Ottoman empire, have been liable to the ravages of a cruel and deſtructive war, its eaſtern limits have been depopulated, by that fatal deſtroyer of mankind, the peſtilence. This dreadful ſcourge ſeems either to have varied its form, or, under its old, to have aſſumed a degree of malignity, which is not perhaps to be equalled in hiſtory. The ancient city of Bagdat was the firſt victim to its vengeance, where it carried off (as it is ſaid) the amazing number of 250,000 people. The fugitives, who fled in great numbers to Baſſora, near the mouth of the Euphrates, and the gulf of Perſia, brought their fears and the diſorder along with them, at the diſtance of 240 miles. Here it raged in all its fury, ſweeping away the people, for ſome time, at the rate of 6 or 7000 a-day. Moſt of the weſtern Chriſtians periſhed: the Engliſh factory ſaved their lives by flying into Perſia, chuſing rather to truſt to the clemency of the uſurper Kerim Khan, though their declared enemy, than to the rage of the implacable diſorder. The event juſtified their conduct; and upon their return, they found only death and deſolation, in the place of a great city.

THERE is little room to doubt, that the change of affairs, which were apprehended in Sweden upon the acceſſion of a new king, had a conſiderable influence upon the conduct of Ruſſia, with reſpect to her liſtening to terms of accommodation, and agreeing to the congreſs of Foczany: and it is as little to be doubted, that the ſubſequent revolution in that kingdom, had a principal ſhare in the renewing of the armiſtice, and the entering into freſh negotiations at Bucharеſt. Indeed it is probable, that this was the beſt, if not the only reaſon which could be given, for Ruſſia's entering into a ceſſation, which was of ſuch infinite advantage to the enemy.

The emigration of a whole nation of Tartars from the Ruſſian dominions, may be conſidered as one of the moſt extraordinary events of the preſent year. A great tribe of the Calmuc Tartars, which was called *the Torgut*, had long inhabited the vaſt deſerts of the kingdom of Aſtracan; where, under a limited ſubmiſſion to the Ruſſian government, they fed innumerable herds of cattle, and carried on a very conſiderable trade with Aſtracan, and the towns on the Wolga, whither they ſent cows, ſheep, horſes, leather, and hides; for which they were paid in corn, meal, rice, copper kettles, knives, tools, iron, cloth, and other Ruſſian commodities. Theſe Tartars were ſo numerous, as to be able

to

to raiſe 30,000 fighting men; and whether it was, that they met with any late cauſes of diſguſt, or that they imagined the increaſe of the Ruſſian power would daily render that liberty which was ſo dear to them, more precarious, however it was, they determined to quit the country.

They conducted this ſcheme with ſo much ſecrecy, that the ſmalleſt ſuſpicion was not harboured of their deſign, till they ſet out with their wives, children, and all their effects, for the country of Zongoria, in the Eaſtern Tartary, which had been the ancient reſidence of their anceſtors, and lies between the Chineſe Tartary, Siberia, and the Leſſer Bocharia. In this prodigious journey, they were obliged to traverſe a conſiderable part of the Ruſſian dominions; and two ſtrong bodies of troops were ſent, without effect, in purſuit of them. Excluſive of the benefits derived from their traffick, and the value of the maſs of effects which they carried with them, the loſs of ſuch a number of people, and the total depopulation of thoſe unbounded wilderneſſes that ſtretch ſo far on all ſides of Aſtracan, muſt be prejudicial to Ruſſia. It may, however, prove the means of inquiring minutely into the cauſes of diſſatisfaction that operated upon theſe people, and of regulating her future conduct in ſuch a manner, as to preſerve the affections of thoſe Tartars who form ſo great a body of her ſubjects, and of paying a cautious attention to that unconquerable love of liberty which, in a greater or leſſer degree, prevails through all their various nations.

Notwithſtanding the pacific profeſſions on both ſides, certain appearances and preparations in Sweden, were evidently alarming to the court of Peterſburg, and occaſioned the fitting out of a very conſiderable fleet to cruiſe in the Baltic, as well as the keeping of an army upon the frontiers. Both theſe meaſures, however neceſſary they might have been, were highly inconvenient to Ruſſia at this period; as the firſt prevented her from ſending a reinforcement to the fleet in the Archipelago; and the ſecond obliged her to keep a conſiderable number of her beſt troops unemployed, at a time that they were much wanted, both on the Danube, and in the Crimea.

The ſame cauſe made it thought neceſſary to enter into a ſtricter union with Denmark, which was cemented by a treaty of infinite advantage to the latter. In conſequence of this treaty, the Grand Duke of Ruſſia has made a formal ceſſion and renunciation of his patrimonial rights and dominion in the duchy of Holſtein, to the King of Denmark; who, in return, as the ſhadow of an equivalent, has ceded the miſerable county of Oldenburg, and the city of Delmenhorſt, with its territory, to the Grand Duke. This important transfer of territory and dominion was executed, Nov. 16. 1773, at Kiel, the capital of Holſtein, where the members of the regency, the civil officers, nobility, and people, were aſſigned over, and took oaths of allegiance to the King of Denmark; and the ceſſion was completed, by the delivery of the keys of the city, and of a piece of earth, to Count Reventlau, the Daniſh miniſter.

Thus have both powers parted with the original inheritance of their anceſtors; and one in particular, with that which promiſed more ſecurity, and greater permanence, than any other of his extenſive poſſeſſions. As the ceſſion made by Denmark, could be of no uſe to the Great Duke, and, from its ſituation and diſtance, was ſcarcely tenible, he has preſented it to his relation the Duke of Holſtein Eutin, Prince-Biſhop of Lubeck; by which thoſe territories, and the lands belonging to the biſhoprick, will become hereditary in that family.

The articles of the treaty are not publiſhed; but from the price paid by Ruſſia, it is probable that an offenſive and defenſive alliance of the ſtrongeſt nature muſt be its baſis. It is ſaid, that upon the continuance of the war, Denmark is to ſend a conſiderable naval force to the Mediterranean, to the aſſiſtance of the Ruſſians; and there is no doubt, in certain circumſtances, that its principal forces by ſea and land, may be liable to be called forth. In the beginning of the year, while the treaty was yet in agitation, and long before its concluſion, a ſtrong ſquadron was fitted out by the Danes, and kept in a readineſs for ſervice during the greater part of the ſeaſon; and no ſecret was made of its being intended to join Adm. Baſsballe, the Ruſſian commander, if any event ſhould take place in the Baltic which required their mutual exertion.

As the Grand Duke was now far advanced in his twentieth year, a marriage was determined upon between him and one

one of the princeſſes of Heſſe-Darmſtadt: and as it was thought proper, in a matter of ſuch importance to his happineſs, that the choice ſhould reſt ſolely with himſelf, the Landgravine, and her three daughters, arrived at Peterſburg for that purpoſe. The Grand Duke's choice was ſoon determined in favour of the Princeſs Wilhelmina, who was about a year younger than himſelf; and that lady having conformed to the Greek religion, was baptized in that faith, Oct. 10. by the new names of *Natalia Alexiowna*. The marriage was ſome time after ſolemnized with great magnificence, the Grand Duke having then entered into his 21ſt year.

A few days prior to the Great Duke's marriage, and on the anniverſary of her coronation, the Empreſs loaded Count Panin, who had been his governor, with honours and emoluments. She beſtowed upon that nobleman, an eſtate for ever, valued at near 7000l. a-year, and a penſion for life to the ſame amount, beſides an appointment of about half that ſum, for conducting the department of foreign affairs, together with the choice of any houſe in Peterſburg, to be purchaſed for his reſidence, and an allowance of money for plate and furniture, of about 35,000l. She alſo ſhewed a proportional munificence to all the officers of the Grand Duke's late houſehold.

The famous Count Byron, Duke of Courland, died at a great age, on the laſt day but one of the preceding year, and was ſucceeded by his ſon. As the reigning Duke was known to be in no degree of favour at the court of Peterſburg, his poſſeſſion of that duchy was held to be very precarious; while it was generally thought, that it would have been thrown in as an equivalent on one ſide or other in the partition of Poland, and probably might, by ſome marriage-arrangement, be formed with ſome of the adjoining provinces into an independent ſtate. It is probable, that whatever difficulties prevented the execution, more than one deſign of this nature was in contemplation: and the Duke himſelf was ſo ſenſible of the dangerous ground he ſtood on, that he attempted to bring about a match with one of the remaining princeſſes of Heſſe-Darmſtadt, in hopes thereby to ſtrengthen his intereſt. This deſign was cruſhed as ſoon as it was known, by the Empreſs, who is ſaid to have ſent him word, that he had no occaſion to think yet of matrimony. In this hopeleſs ſituation, he was ſummoned to Peterſburg, and his ruin was thought to be decided; but a change ſoon appeared in the conduct and deſigns of the court: whatever it proceeded from, he ſuddenly became a favourite at court; and the Empreſs has concluded a marriage for him with a Ruſſian princeſs.

The greateſt attention has been unremittingly paid to the forming of a great fleet in the ſeveral ports of the Baltic, where Sir Charles Knowles, who obtained permiſſion to retire from the Britiſh ſervice, and engage in the Ruſſian, has exerted his well-known knowledge and abilities, in ſuperintending the building of ſeveral fine ſhips upon the Engliſh model. In a word, nothing is left untried, or undone, by which Ruſſia may become a great maritime power. A ſmall ſquadron, conſiſting of four ſhips of the line and a frigate, under the command of Adm. Greig, was ſent very late in the ſeaſon, to reinforce the fleet in the Mediterranean; and it is ſuppoſed a very ſtrong force will be ſent on the ſame ſervice, upon the opening of the Baltic.

The war and conqueſts in Georgia, of which we heard ſo many extraordinary accounts, have come to nothing. Gen. Sukatin, and twelve officers, were the wretched remains that returned to Peterſburg, of an army that had ſo long been repreſented as triumphant, and as aiming at no leſs than the ſubverſion of the Turkiſh empire in Aſia. They attributed their misfortunes to cauſes that were at all times to be foreſeen; to the impracticability of the country, the want of ſufficient force, and the impoſſibility of neceſſary ſupplies; to which ſhould have been added, the native bravery of the inhabitants, and their total diſinclination to ſubmit to a Ruſſian government.

Some new ſilver mines that have been diſcovered in Siberia, ſeem to promiſe an indemnification to Ruſſia, for the treaſure of which ſhe has been drained by the war. That wide and forlorn region, that was ſo long unknown, and ſeemed wrapt up in an eternal winter, that rendered it inacceſſible to mankind, teems with inexhauſtible treaſures, and will in time prove the Peru and Potoſi of the north. Theſe new mines have afforded, upon their firſt opening, 45,000 pounds of fine ſilver, which is ſaid to have been obtained with little difficulty or expence. The Empreſs, according to her uſual muni-

munificence, has beſtowed on the intendant of the royal mines, who made the diſcovery, a princely fortune, and has ordered that they may be worked with all diligence.

The ill ſucceſs of the campaign, affording an opportunity to the Empreſs of ſhewing her magnanimity, by not throwing the leaſt blame upon her commanders or armies: on the contrary, Count Romanzow ſeems to ſtand as high in her favour as he did in the moſt fortunate periods. As ſpectacles have always been found neceſſary in deſpotic governments, either to divert the people from thinking of public affairs, or upon certain occaſions, to keep up their ſpirits, a repreſentation of the taking of Giurgewo from the Turks was exhibited, at conſiderable expence, and with great applauſe, at Peterſburg. Upon this occaſion, a regular fortification was erected and defended, and all the military forms obſerved, and approaches conducted, to the final ſpringing of mines, making a breach, and taking the place by ſtorm.

The great failures which took place in the principal commercial ſtates, were felt in their effects, throughout Europe, and produced, every where, an almoſt general fluctuation of mercantile credit. The wiſe conduct of the Empreſs, upon this critical occaſion, and the particular attention and regard which ſhe paid to the Engliſh factory and merchants at Peterſburg, cannot be ſufficiently praiſed. She immediately iſſued orders to the court-banker, that the Britiſh merchants ſhould be ſupplied with any ſums of money that were neceſſary to ſupport their credit, in the preſent trying exigency; and took every other meaſure that could ſhew how much ſhe had the commercial intereſts of her country at heart, as well as her particular regard to a friendly and allied power.

Great diviſions ſeem to have prevailed this year in the court of Peterſburg, the extent and nature of which are little known. Two parties, which took the names of their reſpective leaders, and ſeem to divide the empire, have, however, been avowedly formed, upon the great queſtion of war or peace. The former of theſe, under the auſpices of Prince Orlow, are eager for a continuation of the war, and of obtaining all the fruits from its paſt ſucceſſes, as well as from thoſe in expectancy, that they are capable of affording: the ſecond follow the opinions of Count Panin, who is a zealous advocate for peace, and does not want ſufficient arguments to ſhew its expediency, if not neceſſity. The Empreſs has beſtowed her favours and honours ſo equally upon thoſe leaders, that it looks as if ſhe thought it neceſſary to trim between the two parties: Prince Orlow reſumed his functions early in the year, in conſequence of a letter written to him in her own hand for that purpoſe; and Count Panin has been called upon in the ſame manner, ſince its concluſion, to exert his great faculties for the ſecurity and preſervation of the empire. It is, however, ſaid, that the Empreſs, upon all occaſions in the council, has given her opinion for the continuance of the war.

Such differences of opinion would be of little conſequence, if other marks of diſcontent had not appeared in different parts of the empire, as well as at court. Of the cauſes or effects of theſe, little can yet be ſaid. It was, however, obſerved, that in the midſt of the ſplendor and magnificence of the Great Duke's nuptials, and of the ſumptuous feſtivals that enſued, diſcontent, ſuſpicion, and apprehention, were, in many countenances, too viſible to be concealed.

WEDLOCK. To the LADIES.

ANY lady of extenſive fortune, of any age, to whom a title of great dignity to herſelf and heirs for ever would be deſirable, may receive a propoſal ſtrictly honourable and delicate, and very material to her future happineſs, independent of the title, (which is highly reſpectable). Every ſettlement will be complied with, the lady or friend can deſire. Any lady of equivalent fortune, or the friend or guardian of ſuch, who will condeſcend to reply to this, ſhall receive the fulleſt aſſurance of the honourable intention of this addreſs, and be made acquainted with the actual name and title of the party, on obvious proofs of candour and plain-dealing on the part of the lady, as the writer is perfectly ſincere and ſerious. The requiſite ſtipulations adjuſted, the marriage may take place immediately, either in England or Scotland.

Direct to *Veritas*, to be left at the bar of the Adelphi coffee-houſe, Strand.

London Chronicle, Oct. 11. 1774.

Letters

Letters on the improvement of the Highlands of Scotland. Signed AGRICOLA.

EXTRACTS.

Cauſes of the preſent diſtreſs.

EVery alteration that ſuddenly takes place in the old eſtabliſhed cuſtoms of a country, can hardly fail to produce ſome ſuitable inconveniencies in it, unleſs the effects of theſe are guarded againſt with the moſt cautious circumſpection. But in what country have we ever known a greater change produced in its internal polity in a ſhorter time, or leſs care taken to guard againſt the inconveniencies that muſt neceſſarily ariſe therefrom, than in the highlands of Scotland?

Accuſtomed to an almoſt independent ſovereignty, the chieftains, till of late, lived each in the midſt of his own people, and ſhared with them the produce that his demeſnes afforded. Ignorant of the luxuries that commerce had introduced into other parts of the iſland, they lived contented with their own homely fare, nor ſeemed to have a wiſh but to preſerve that independency which had been tranſmitted to them from their forefathers, and to protect their family (for ſo they conſidered all their clan) from the depredations of others. This naturally produced a kind of warmth of attachment between the vaſſal and his chieftain that is almoſt entirely unknown in every other ſtage of civil ſociety, and totally incompatible with that ſpirit of univerſal liberty and equity that happily now takes place in the greateſt part of this iſland. But can we imagine, that a principle which was ſuppoſed to conſtitute the chief glory of man, and its active exertions to conſtitute his higheſt felicity, could be totally eradicated at once? or that the mind, unhinged by the attempt, ſhould not be thrown into a ſtate of diſorder that muſt be attended with the moſt ſerious and moſt diſagreeable conſequences?

By the late unhappy diſturbances that took place in this part of the iſland, many of their principal chieftains have been baniſhed from their native homes; and as the abſence of him whom they conſidered as their only rightful judge and lawgiver, relaxed the arm of juſtice, a peculiar ſpecies of anarchy enſued, which gave riſe to crimes unheard of till then among themſelves, and unknown in other parts of the world. By attempting to bring theſe tranſgreſſors before a tribunal, the legality of which they did not acknowledge, and puniſh them ſeverely for crimes which they ſcarcely deemed treſpaſſes, they were often ſcreened by their own tribe [345.]; while thoſe who committed treſpaſſes againſt the local laws or cuſtoms of their clan, were equally protected by the civil power, from the puniſhment that they dreaded from their own ſuperiors. In this manner the minds of the people became debauched. From the hopes of impunity crimes increaſed; and in the conteſt for eſtabliſhing the civil power, the minds of many became ſoured and unſettled, ſo as to prevent them from ſteadily purſuing any occupation that might furniſh them with the means of ſubſiſtence.

And as the government, for wiſe reaſons, found it neceſſary to deprive the chieftains of that power and authority which they had formerly exerciſed over their vaſſals [ix. 333.], many of thoſe who ſtill remained in the country, finding their authority curtailed, and becoming gradually acquainted with the pleaſures of a more civilized life, became leſs and leſs fond of that kind of life they had formerly been accuſtomed to, ſo as at laſt to leave it entirely, and follow other employments, that neceſſarily carried them from home, and laid them under the neceſſity of putting their eſtates under the management of others inſtead of themſelves; who, in too many caſes, exerciſed their authority with a rigid ſeverity but too common in caſes of this ſort; which became the more inſupportable to the vaſſals, as this was perhaps a mean perſon, whom they, from the prejudices of education, conſidered as their inferior. And as theſe civilized chieftains, by their intercourſe with ſtrangers, acquired in time habits quite different from their forefathers, and modes of thinking in every reſpect diſſimilar to them; when they chanced to come among their tenants, their mode of behaviour and turn of converſation was ſo totally different from what their dependents had fondly expected, as ſerved in many caſes to turn their prejudices from the factor to the proprietor himſelf. And as a man who has been accuſtomed to civil ſociety, can find little to approve of, and much to blame, in the way of life followed by an uncivilized people, their affections were alienated, ſo that, inſtead of

of conſidering each other as mutual friends, and protectors of one another, they view each other as declared foes; which heightens every evil, and makes every accidental diſtreſs come with redoubled vigour from what it would otherwiſe have done.

But this, although exceedingly diſagreeable, is not the worſt conſequence that has accrued from this revolution in the country. For as the proprietor formerly received his rents chiefly in kind, and ſpent his revenues among his vaſſals, with that liberal hoſpitality, that, in the moſt powerful manner, tends to conciliate the good-will of thoſe who ſhare of it, little was carried away from amongſt them, and they all partook of the produce of their fields; which, with difficulty, was ſufficient to ſuſtain them. But now theſe rents, however ſmall, being conſtantly carried out of the country, help to drain it, not of its money, (for money they have none, except what is brought to them as the price of their cattle), but of thoſe very proviſions that uſed to be applied for the ſuſtenance of the inhabitants. And as theſe inhabitants, now freed from the conſtant feuds and petty wars that uſed to carry off numbers of them, are increaſing, while the quantity of proviſions that uſed to ſuſtain them is thus diminiſhed, no wonder that they feel the pinching hand of want, and all thoſe grievous ills that are its conſtant attendants, and take ſuch methods to evade this ſore diſtreſs as prudence or deſpair may firſt ſuggeſt.

It ſeems to be a very prevailing opinion in this country, that all the diſtreſſes, ſo juſtly complained of by the poor highlanders, have been occaſioned by the rapacity of the landholders: and I make no doubt, but that the injudicious ſeverity of ſome of theſe may have haſtened a little that calamity, which was ſtill creeping forward by imperceptible degrees, and muſt ſooner or later have been felt without any blame on their part. For as the country which theſe poor people inhabit, is in a great meaſure incapable of being improved by culture, and as the inhabitants are unacquainted with the mode of doing it if it were, it is plain, that if their numbers are increaſing, while the quantity of food for ſuſtaining them remains nearly the ſame, (even ſuppoſing nothing at all was exacted by the proprietor), the time muſt quickly approach, when famine muſt come among them of itſelf. As this then is evidently the caſe, it does not appear that the gentlemen are ſo much to blame for continuing to exact their rents, (which muſt be allowed by every one to be juſtly their due), as for not having in time endeavoured, by every gentle incitement that a prudent foreſight could diſcover, to lead the poor people into ſuch a train, as, without directly thwarting their deep-rooted prejudices, might have enabled them to provide for their own ſubſiſtence, and pay, without diſtreſſing themſelves, that acknowledgement which is ſo juſtly due to their ſuperiors.

Neither ought the gentlemen, on the other hand, too harſhly to complain of the indolence, and other bad qualities that they think they perceive in theſe poor people, or look for ſimilar exertions from perſons in their circumſtances, as may be expected from others, whoſe minds have been accuſtomed to that animating fervour which a ſpirit of independence moſt naturally inſpires, and whoſe bodies, from their earlieſt infancy, have been braced with that unabating vigour, which active induſtry alone can produce. Habits, we all know, can only be overcome by ſlow, and almoſt imperceptible degrees; and even prejudices ought to be reſpected. We ought not, therefore, to think with ourſelves, that becauſe we know that ſuch or ſuch an operation could be performed by other men, not ſeemingly endowed with greater natural powers than they, therefore it may be done by them; or if they fail in the performing it, lay the whole blame upon themſelves; but rather weigh with circumſpection what it is that we require, and the means that they have had of acquiring the power of performing it, always making due allowance to the obſtructions that deep-rooted prejudices may have thrown in the way. We would laugh at the abſurdity of that man who ſhould require any of his ſervants to make him a watch, and be offended if he could not execute it with neatneſs or accuracy, becauſe, ſays he, this machine is the work of man's hands, and why ſhould not you be capable of doing what another can do? yet we ſeldom complain of the equal abſurdity of him who expects, that one unaccuſtomed to any kind of more common manual labour, ſhould perform it with equal dexterity as another who has long practiſed it;

nor

nor are we offended at thoſe who are every day inveighing againſt their ſervants, as ſtupid blockheads, becauſe they cannot execute, with a ready facility, any operation in rural affairs that they may chance to have ſeen performed in ſome diſtant country.

Of the means of relief.

As the highlands of Scotland are incapable of any high degree of culture, it neceſſarily follows, that a conſiderable increaſed number of inhabitants cannot be ſupported there, nor any increaſe of revenue be drawn from thence, unleſs ſome method be deviſed for bringing money from other quarters into that country, with which the neceſſaries of life may be purchaſed. This can only be effected either by mines, manufactures, or fiſhings. Of theſe three, the two laſt are the moſt univerſally beneficial to the people, particularly manufactures; the influence of which might be readily extended to almoſt every individual in the country. The moſt neceſſary ſtudy, therefore, of thoſe who wiſh to improve that diſtrict, and render the inhabitants independent, and comfortable in their circumſtances, ought to be to diſcover what kind of manufacture could be moſt eaſily and quietly eſtabliſhed among them, and then take every method that can be deviſed for promoting that manufacture.

It is an undertaking of ſome difficulty to eſtabliſh a new manufacture of any ſort in any country, as it is long before the inhabitants can be brought to perform the ſeveral operations with that dexterity and eaſe that is neceſſary for bringing it to perfection; but thoſe difficulties are much leſs ſenſibly felt in a very populous diſtrict, where the inhabitants are crowded together, ſo as to be more immediately under the inſpection of thoſe who can inſtruct them, than in one that is more thinly peopled, where they can hardly ever be brought together in any conſiderable number to receive thoſe inſtructions that may be requiſite: and if the crude materials upon which the manufacturer is to work, be not the produce of the country itſelf, but brought from a diſtance at a conſiderable expence, the difficulty is in this caſe greatly increaſed; for no maſter-manufacturer would willingly intruſt materials of conſiderable value with inexperienced operators at a great diſtance from him; and he cannot here, as in a populous diſtrict, give only a little at a time, ſo as to be no conſiderable loſer if it ſhould not be quite well done, but muſt give it in conſiderable quantities, otherwiſe the expence of carrying away the raw materials, and bringing back the manufactured goods, would become too high for him to be able to bear. In this manner maſter-manufacturers are diſcouraged from ſettling among them, and the inhabitants, even if they were willing to be inſtructed, are in a great meaſure deprived of the means of acquiring a ſufficient dexterity therein. This muſt have been a powerful bar to the eſtabliſhment of the linen-manufacture in the highlands, which has been attempted with much eagerneſs and little ſucceſs for many years paſt; and muſt always continue to be a powerful check upon every manufacture that is not employed in working up the native produce of the country. But if the materials were originally their own, the caſe would be widely different; as the inhabitants would be tempted to make ſmall eſſays at an inconſiderable expence, and would always receive the value for it, whatever that was, from the merchant; which would encourage them to go on, and ſtill make it better and better, ſo as to arrive imperceptibly at as great a degree of perfection therein as the nature of their materials would admit. For theſe reaſons, I am fully ſatisfied, that it is a matter of great difficulty, to eſtabliſh a manufacture in any thinly-inhabited country like the highlands of Scotland, unleſs it be ſuch as works up the native product of the country; and as I know of nothing that could be produced in the highlands, except wool, that could furniſh materials for an extenſive manufacture, it would ſeem to be an object well worthy the attention of all concerned, to examine, with accuracy, if this article could be produced there in abundance, and of a quality ſufficiently good to afford the proſpect of carrying on that manufacture with ſucceſs.

When any country has been long accuſtomed to certain practices, the inhabitants at length purſue theſe with a ſort of blind perſeverance, without having once examined if they are the moſt proper for them to follow or not. It has, as I imagine, unluckily happened, that the inhabitants of the highlands have hitherto attached themſelves chiefly to

the rearing of cattle, and in a great measure neglected their sheep; although it seems to me probable, that it would have been much for their advantage that they had followed a different plan, as it has probably helped to increase those bad habits of which the inhabitants are generally accused. For,

If any grazing-country has its chief dependence upon cattle, it is attended with this peculiar inconvenience, that the inhabitants, having no necessary inducement to industry, naturally abandon themselves to idleness; and a habit of indolence being once established among them, it must be extremely difficult to get it eradicated: whereas if their chief reliance is upon sheep, the necessary operations of shearing and cleaning the wool, &c. oblige them to be, in some measure, more active than they otherwise would have been; and as they have constantly among their hands materials so necessary for their own and family's cloathing, they must naturally fall into the way of manufacturing it in some sort, which has a powerful tendency to prevent that listless indolence from getting footing among them that must prevail among the other species of graziers. Considered, therefore, in this light, it would seem probable, that a country which has its chief dependence upon sheep, is much nearer a state of improvement than one that depends upon cattle.

Another very considerable inconvenience that attends an extensive cattle-raising country is, that having no constant market for these among themselves, and having no other marketable commodity, they must depend entirely upon others for almost the whole of their subsistence; so that when, by any accident, the demand from abroad may be lessened, the value of the cattle sinks prodigiously, and in some cases they cannot be sold at almost any price at all: but as the inhabitants are even then under the necessity of having some bread-corn, and other necessaries of life, (not to mention their rent), they must, in these cases, be reduced to a state of extreme misery; which not only debilitates the body, but also enervates the mind, and renders the whole people incapable of any generous exertion *.

But what renders this still more to be lamented is, that almost the whole calamity in these cases falls upon the lower class of people, who thus become little better than slaves, subjected in all cases to the capricious nod of a set of men who keep them in the most abject thraldom: for as the cattle must all be driven to a distant market, and sold in considerable parcels at a time, it becomes impossible for a poor man to carry his own little stock thither himself, which subjects them to the necessity of dealing with that set of people called *drovers*, who, having an entire monopoly of the sale of cattle, give almost what prices they please; by which means they, in a short time, amass more wealth, and live in greater splendor, than many of the ancient chieftains themselves can do: and as these drovers are usually considerable graziers themselves, when at any time the demand for cattle is but inconsiderable, it is but natural to suppose, that they will sell only their own, so that every other person is then reduced to the most pinching want; which must become the more insupportable to them, when they see the others wallowing in plenty, and exercising all the insolence of power with uncontrouled sway. Hard, indeed, must be the lot of those who are subjected to such a complication of distresses as the situation of these poor people must naturally expose them to!

But if the country were in a great measure stocked with sheep, some part of these distresses would be immediately removed; and, with a little necessary attention in the proprietors of that country, the whole might be in a short time remedied: for as they would then have not only the carcase to bring to market, but the wool also, they would have at least two chances for escaping bad markets for one that they have at present *; and if they should be induced to fall in-

* Were it necessary here, it would be no difficult matter to shew, that an accidental stagnation of this sort, coinciding with a failure of crop in the low countries, was the *immediate* cause of the distress that gave rise to the present complaints in the highlands.

* This is even supposing that the number of people should not at all increase, nor the demand at home become greater in consequence of this step; but if, in consequence thereof, all the inhabitants, finding employment at home, should be tempted to remain there, the numbers would very quickly increase in a great degree, and constant markets at home be established, which would in a great measure prevent the necessity of their depending so entirely upon foreign markets.

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to the way of manufacturing their own wool, (which would not be difficult to bring about, if they had once the materials in abundance), money would come among them in plenty, emigrations * of all ſorts would quickly ceaſe, the number of people would increaſe, a ſpirit of independence would prevail, and entirely aboliſh that ſhocking diſparity of condition that at preſent annihilates (if I may uſe the expreſſion) their ſouls, and enervates their bodies; their mental faculties would gradually acquire ſtrength, and a ſpirit of enterpriſe and emulation get footing among them, which would enable them to perceive and improve to the utmoſt all the advantages that their ſituation afforded them; advantages which, in certain reſpects, few can equal.

Some may perhaps deem it impoſſible ever to effectuate a change ſo deſireable, and therefore, with a deſponding indifference, think that every propoſal to effectuate this change is chimerical and vain. But I cannot bring myſelf to view it in that light. Experience may eaſily convince us, that no two men differ more widely from one another than the ſame perſon may do from himſelf in different circumſtances. Like a ſpark of fire concealed under a heap of rubbiſh, the human mind may long lie buried under the overpowering load of ignorance and oppreſſion; but free it from theſe chains, and it will quickly develope its powers. Feeble, indeed, are its firſt exertions, and eaſily repreſſed; but if theſe are encouraged, it gradually waxes ſtronger and ſtronger, till at length it blazes forth with irreſiſtible power and glory. It is thus that Britain, that once poor deſpiſed country, the prey of every invading power, and ſlave of many ſucceſſive conquerors, has at length become the envy or the dread of all the world: nor will the ſame means fail of producing the like effects in every other country. We have ſeen that a ſmall diſtrict of this happy country is unfortunately involved in circumſtances that render the inhabitants leſs comfortable than the reſt; but the æra ſeems to approach when they will partake of the ſame bleſſings as the other parts of our iſland. Almoſt all the diſagreeable part of the change is already effected: the anarchy that aroſe from the loſs of their chieftains is now in a great meaſure deſtroyed by the eſtabliſhment of the civil power, which has obtained ſuch firm footing among them as totally to aboliſh all marks of their former juriſdiction: the old men, who were wedded to their former cuſtoms, are now, almoſt the whole of them, dead, and with them a great part of the ancient prejudices have diſappeared: the late wars carried many of the common people abroad, who have acquired ſome idea of the advantages of civil ſociety; and the bleſſings of liberty and independence which they have diſſeminated among their fellows, has no doubt greatly contributed to excite that ſpirit of emigrating which at preſent prevails among them. Even this ſpirit for emigration I conſider as the moſt favourable ſymptom of their being ready for any ſort of improvement, as it proves that their own cuſtoms and country are indifferent to them; that they are ſenſible of their diſagreeable ſituation, and wiſh to exert themſelves to render it more comfortable. It is the criſis of the diſeaſe which has long haraſſed them. If nothing is now done to reſtore their exhauſted ſtrength, the conſequence may be fatal; but if they are duly cared for, and have proper cordials adminiſtered, they will quickly attain that health and vigour of which they have been ſo long deprived.

* The emigrations from the highlands to North America have made a great noiſe of late, and excited the attention of all Britain; but we pay no regard to the much greater numbers who have emigrated every year, for half a century paſt, to the low countries; without which outlet the inhabitants of the highlands muſt have increaſed to ſuch a degree, as could not by any means have been ſubſiſted in that part of the country in the ſituation it is in at preſent. I am firmly perſuaded, that more highland families have come to Edinburgh alone every year, for upwards of twenty years paſt, never to return, than have gone to North America in any one year ſince theſe emigrations took place.

Of ſheep. — The influence of different kinds of paſture upon the nature of the wool.

FEW animals are of greater utility to man, or have been leſs attended to in general by modern nations, than ſheep. Certain peculiar notions prevail with reſpect to the management of this animal in every particular diſtrict, which have been adopted no body can tell how, and are adhered to with a blind perſeverance that but ill accords with the idea we are taught to entertain of the liberal turn of mind

mind of modern improvers; nay, there are ſome opinions that ſeem to be in general entertained on this head, and conſidered as axioms that cannot be diſputed, which, upon a careful examination, will be found to be extremely erroneous. —

It is in general believed, that richneſs of paſture and temperature of climate have a great tendency to improve the quality of the wool of ſheep, and that therefore fine wool cannot be produced but in improved countries; and on this account it would be imagined that no good wool could be produced in the highlands of Scotland. But upon a careful examination, I do not meet with any one fact that tends to prove that rich paſture improves the fineneſs of the wool, although I have met with a hundred vague expreſſions to that effect. If with this view we examine the places that are known to produce the fineſt or coarſeſt wool, we do not find that either of theſe have any neceſſary connection with the richneſs of the paſture. The fineſt wool in England is produced about Leominſter in Herefordſhire, and on Colſwold-downs in Glouceſterſhire; yet it is well known, that in neither of theſe places is the graſs remarkable for its richneſs: the latter, eſpecially, is a bleak mountainous ſituation, where no ſort of improvement has ever taken place. The other places in England remarkable for fine wool, are the Iſle of Wight, Romney-marſh, and Lincolnſhire: and although it is allowed that Romney-marſh affords exceeding rich graſs, and that in both the other places there is abundance of very good paſture; yet a great part of the ſheep-walks in both theſe places is but very indifferent paſturage. If rich paſturage makes valuable wool, whence comes it that no other places in England can equal theſe in this reſpect? for as good mutton is produced in almoſt every other county. In Buckinghamſhire is produced the largeſt and fatteſt mutton in England; yet the wool of that county is of the very coarſeſt quality. The rich paſtures of Holland and Germany nouriſh abundance of ſheep, and yield mutton as good as any part of the world affords; yet their wool cannot be compared with ours; while the barren mountains of Leon and Aſturias in Spain, maintain ſheep that produce the fineſt wool in Europe. From this review it would ſeem, that the nature of the paſture has but little influence upon the quality of wool; and that therefore we ought to attribute the peculiarities that we meet with in this reſpect to ſome other cauſe than this.

It was in conſequence of the following accidental experiments that I was led to make the foregoing obſervations. A farmer of a more enterpriſing ſpirit than ordinary, with whom I was intimately connected, was not ſatisfied with the quality of the wool that his ſheep afforded, and therefore put away the whole ſtock that he had, and ſupplied himſelf with ſome fine-wool'd Engliſh ſheep in their ſtead. It happened that the only walk he had for his ſheep was a common on which he and a neighbour-farmer had an equal right of paſturage; and as it was not of great extent, they employed one ſhepherd to keep both their flocks, ſo that his ſheep were intermixed with thoſe of his neighbour: and although the rams were thus common to both flocks; yet, merely in conſequence of the difference in ewes, although the breed of the one neceſſarily degenerated a little, while that of the other improved, (for the unimproving farmer did not at firſt put away the rams of his own breed), yet, at the diſtance of more than thirty years from the time they were brought to that common, the difference between the wool of that part of the flock and the other, was ſuch, that it ſold at upwards of 25 *per cent.* dearer than the other. This is a fact that I have particular reaſon to know for a truth, and ſeems to prove, in a very ſatisfactory manner, that the nature of the paſture, whatever effects it may produce in other reſpects, has but very ſmall influence upon the quality of the wool.

It is likewiſe worth remarking, that in the year 1666, the Engliſh having, for particular reaſons, prohibited the importation of live cattle from Ireland, the inhabitants were obliged to turn their attention to the rearing of ſheep. A breed of the valuable kind was, in conſequence thereof, tranſported from England; and they have increaſed ſo well, and continue to afford ſuch fine wool, as enables the Iriſh to rival the Engliſh in ſome of their fineſt woollen manufactures; which has obliged the Engliſh, ever jealous of any rival in this their favourite manufacture, to cramp them with ſuch prohibitory laws as prevents them in a great meaſure from vending them. So that we

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ſee there is but little reaſon for believing, as is commonly with confidence aſſerted, that the fineneſs of Engliſh wool is entirely owing to the particular richneſs of their paſture.

It is likewiſe a fact well known, that the ſhire of Galloway at preſent produces in general the beſt wool in Scotland, which is entirely occaſioned by a breed of Engliſh ſheep that were introduced into that country about fifty or ſixty years ago, by Mr Heron, (as I am told), which has improved the wool to the degree for which it is remarkable at preſent. Many other obſervations might be added, tending to ſhow, that improvements by artificial graſſes, turnips, &c. do not influence the quality of the wool.

But although it ſeems evident, that richneſs of paſture has no effect in altering the fineneſs of the ſtaple of wool, yet it is certain, that unleſs ſheep have abundance of food, ſo as to keep the animal in good health, the goodneſs of the wool in other reſpects will be conſiderably impaired. For it is an undoubted fact, that a poor diſeaſed ſheep never produced a fleece of wool of the beſt quality; as in theſe caſes, however fine it may be, it is hard and dry, and wants that ſoftneſs and ſtrength which is ſo neceſſary for rendering the wool pliable in working, and durable in wearing. In this ſenſe, therefore, richneſs of paſture may have ſome effect upon the wool; becauſe in feeding-countries the ſheep are always kept in very high condition; which is not always ſo much attended to in poorer ſoils, which only admit of breeding ſheep. But this inconvenience may always be avoided even in theſe countries, by taking care never to overſtock the paſture; for if this is attended to, no animal will continue in good health in poorer paſture than a ſheep. It is likewiſe of conſequence, on this account, to guard againſt the accidental temporary want of food, from the long continuance of a ſtorm of ſnow in winter, by providing a ſufficient ſtock of dry fodder to be given them on theſe occaſions; a thing hardly ever attended to by our ſheep-raiſers in Scotland; which not only greatly impairs the quality of our wool, ſo as in many caſes to render the manufactures made of it not ſo beautiful, and leſs durable in the wear than they otherwiſe would have been, but is alſo attended with ſuch ſerious conſequences in other reſpects, as ought to induce the farmers at any rate to provide this moſt neceſſary article: the means of doing which is ſo eaſy in almoſt every ſituation, that thoſe who omit to do it can juſtly plead no excuſe but their own negligence or inattention.

The influence of climate upon the quality of wool.

In ſuch northern climates as ours, we ſo often experience the hurtful effects of cold, and feel, in ſuch a powerful manner, the beneficial influence of heat, as makes us have a partial fondneſs for warm regions, and imagine that the meliorating influence of the climate is extended to almoſt every thing that is there produced. It has probably been in this manner that we have firſt adopted the opinion, that the wool produced in warm regions was neceſſarily of a finer quality than that which is found in colder climates. But as this is a fact of ſome importance to be aſcertained with certainty, it will be right in us not to acquieſce in this opinion till we ſee if it is ſupported by more deciſive arguments.

The prejudice is in general ſo ſtrong againſt the opinion that very fine wool can be produced in cold climates, that I ſhall not be much ſurpriſed, if, on this account, many find themſelves diſpoſed not readily to admit the truth of the following anecdote, which I had from a gentleman in whoſe veracity I confide entirely: but as there are thouſands now living who know every circumſtance relating to it perfectly well, they can correct any error that they may perceive with regard to it.

About the beginning of the late war, the magiſtrates of a conſiderable town in the north of Scotland, famous for its manufacture of worſted ſtockings, deſirous to expreſs, in ſome manner, the eſteem that they bore for their countryman the late Marſhal Keith, reſolved to ſend him a pair of ſtockings of their own manufacture, of an uncommon degree of fineneſs. With this view they commiſſioned from London ſome of the fineſt wool that could poſſibly be found, without any limitation of price. In conſequence whereof, ſome pounds of the very fineſt Spaniſh wool, picked out by very good judges of this matter, were ſent to them. When it arrived, the magiſtrates ſent for the women who were to manufacture it; and having told them what they wanted, ſhewed them the wool they had got. But

when

when the women had examined it, they complained of its quality; ſaid it was ſo coarſe that they could not undertake to draw more than forty *heeres* * from the pound; but added, that if the magiſtrates would wait for a few months, till the *highland wool* came to their own market in the month of July, they would there pick out wool for themſelves, that they would undertake to ſpin to the fineneſs of ſeventy heeres from the pound. As they were unanimous in this opinion, the difference appeared ſo very great, that the magiſtrates agreed to their requeſt, and waited till the highland wool came to market; where the women provided themſelves with wool, which they ſpun to the fineneſs they had promiſed. The ſtockings, when manufactured, were valued at five guineas the pair, and were ſent in a box of curious workmanſhip to Marſhal Keith; who deemed them ſuch a curioſity as to be worthy the acceptance of the Empreſs of Ruſſia, to whom he afterwards preſented them. If this fact is true, it proves, in a very ſatisfactory manner, that both the ſoil and climate of the highlands of Scotland are capable of producing as fine wool as is perhaps to be met with in the world.

Nor would we perhaps have deemed this fact ſo very incredible, had not our minds been prepoſſeſſed with an undue bias in prejudice of northern climates. For if we had reaſoned from analogy, and compared the effect that might have been expected to be produced by cold upon the wool of ſheep, with what we know of other furred animals, we would have been led to look for the fineſt wool only in the coldeſt climates: for it is well known, that cold climates alone are naturally fitted to produce and rear, to the greateſt perfection, animals bearing warm *furs*, the fineneſs and cloſeneſs of which are always in proportion to the cold of the climate; nature having thus bountifully provided for the inhabitants of theſe colder regions, a plentiful ſupply of this moſt powerful mean of defending them from the rigours of the ſeaſon, while the inhabitants of warmer regions, who have no need of ſuch warm cloathing, are bleſſed with the more delicate ſilk-worm, which affords them materials for forming veſtments more ſuited to their wants. Now, as the wool of the ſheep is evidently the moſt valuable *fur* that we know, we ought to have been led to expect, that, like every other thing of this claſs, it would have been cloſeſt and fineſt in cold regions, and in every reſpect more valuable than that which was produced in warmer climates.

It is dangerous truſting entirely to reaſoning *a priori*; but it is always of uſe to attend to the hints that may be ſuggeſted by that means, ſo far as to be certain that any opinion that may ſeem to run counter to it has been adopted only in conſequence of experience and accurate obſervation. Let us try how far this will hold good in the preſent caſe.

With this view, let us take a more extenſive ſurvey of the globe than we have as yet done, and remark the nature of thoſe places where different kinds of wool are produced: for as there are particular places in very ſouthern climates that are extremely cold, unleſs we take care to diſtinguiſh theſe, we can form no proper judgement. The Andes in America *, although directly under the line, are perpetually covered with ſnow; and every mountainous country experiences a

* *Heere* is a term in the manufacture of yarn, denoting two *cuts*, each cut containing 120 threads, each thread meaſuring two yards and a half. A *heere*, therefore, is a thread meaſuring 600 yards in length; 40 *heeres* is a thread of 24,000 yards; and 70 *heeres* is one of 42,000 yards, which is 24 miles nearly.

* "Both parties," ſays Don George Juan, ſpeaking of himſelf and his companions, "when upon the hills near Quita, ſuffered not a little from the extremity of the cold, which was the more painful to us, as we had been but little uſed to ſuch ſenſations. Thus, under the *equinoctial*, where it was natural to fear we had moſt to apprehend from heat, our greateſt pain was cauſed by the exceſſiveneſs of the cold. Though our hut was ſmall, and crouded with inhabitants, beſides the heat of the lamp; yet the intenſeneſs of the cold was ſuch, that every one of us was obliged to have a chaffing-diſh of coals. It may eaſily be imagined what we ſuffered from the aſperities of ſuch a climate. Our feet were ſwelled, and ſo tender, that we could not even bear the heat: our hands were covered with chilblains: our lips ſwelled and chopped, ſo that every motion in ſpeaking, or the like, drew blood, &c. While we were eating, every one was obliged to keep his plate over a chaffing-diſh of coals, to prevent his proviſions from freezing. The ſame was done with regard to the water." *Book 5. chap. 2.*

Again he obſerves, *book 6. chap. 7.* "Some of theſe mountains ſeem as it were founded on others, and riſe to an aſtoniſhing height, which are covered with ſnow even to their ſummits. The Parama of Aſſuay is not of this

a degree of cold in proportion to its height, in whatever latitude it may be placed. The peak of Teneriff is as perpetually covered with ſnow as Mount Hecla; and the mountains of Ararat are equally buried under ice as the Alps of Switzerland.

This being premiſed, we will not be ſurpriſed to meet with fine wool in warm regions, even although it ſhould be certain that cold was neceſſary for the production thereof: and indeed it ſeems to be a rule without exception, that no fine wool is produced in any ſouthern climate, unleſs in countries remarkably mountainous and cold. Thus, going ſouthward, we find, that about Mount Athos, in the northern parts of Africa, ſome wool is produced, which, although of a much coarſer quality than that of many places in Europe, is fine in compariſon of all the wool that grows in the more ſouthern parts of Africa; the ſheep of theſe regions producing only a thin coat of a particular kind of hair as coarſe as goats hair. Throughout the whole Torrid Zone, I know of no tolerable wool except that which is produced, on the Andes of America, from ſheep originally ſent from Old Spain, which continue to carry very fine wool, as well as the native ſheep, called *llanas*, and *vicunnas*; but all of theſe feed in the mountains, where the cold is as intenſe as in any habitable part of Europe*. In Aſia, ſome parts of Perſia, and the province of Caſhemere, in the northern parts of Indoſtan, afford wool perhaps of the fineſt quality in the world: but the ſheep that yield the fine Perſian wool are kept upon the bleak mountains of Armenia, whoſe tops are almoſt continually covered with ſnow *; and the Caſhemerian wool grows in thoſe cold mountains that divide that province from Thibet, where the cold, according to Bernier, is ſo intenſe as to keep the country continually frozen for near one half of the year †. Since, then, we find that no fine wool is ever produced in warm climates, excepting in ſuch diſtricts thereof as are remarkable for their intenſe degree of cold, it would ſeem that heat was hurtful in this reſpect, and that a cold climate was beſt adapted for producing fine wool.

But what proves, beyond a poſſibility of doubt, that heat produces nearly the ſame effect upon the wool of ſheep as upon the furs of other animals, is a fact that all our ſeafaring people who frequent warm climates are well acquainted with, viz. That when they export any live ſheep from Europe to ſupply themſelves with freſh proviſions, they always find, that however fine and cloſe their fleece might have been in their native country, what ſprings upon them in warm climates is only a thin ſtraggling coat of a particular kind of hair, hardly at all reſembling wool, exactly like that which grows upon the Guinea ſheep. This is a fact ſo univerſally well known, and acknowledged for a truth by every one who has been either in the Eaſt or Weſt Indies, as ought aſſuredly long ago to have deſtroyed the vulgar prejudice in favour of warm climates with regard to the production of wool, were not mankind in general more diſpoſed to acquieſce in any opinion that may be firſt ſuggeſted to them, than to be at the trouble of exerciſing their reaſoning faculties in a road that has not been ſmoothed by others.

this claſs. Its height is the degree in this climate where a continual congelation commences; and as theſe mountains exceed this height, ſo they are perpetually covered with ice and ſnow; and, from a determined point above the ſurface of the ſea, the congelation is found at the ſame height in all the mountains," &c.

The ſame might be remarked of every mountain on the globe; with this only difference, that under the line, from the little variation of ſeaſons, this point of congelation remains nearly of the ſame height at all times; whereas, in higher latitudes, it varies greatly at different ſeaſons of the year.

* In the diſtrict of Lipes in Peru, Ulloa obſerves, that "l'air y eſt tres froid, & le terroir n'offre que des pacages ou l'on nourrit de grands troupeaux de vicunnas, d'alpacas, ou tarugas, & de llamas, animaux aſſez communs dans les hautes montagnes, où le froid eſt continuel." *Prev. Coll. Voyag.* t. 13. p. 315.

* Tavernier, ſpeaking of Mount Ararat, ſays, "Elle eſt comme detachée des toutes les montagnes de l'Armenie, qui font une longue chaine, et depuis le milieu juſques au ſommet elle eſt continuellement couverte de niege." *t.* 1 *p.* 43.

† He ſays that it is "un miſerable pays, couvert de niege pendant cinq mois de l'annee;" and that the only commerce of the country was muſk, cryſtal, and de Jachem: "Mais ſur tout de laines, les unes des brebis (qui eſt plus fine que celle *d'Eſpagne*), les autres qui nomment Jouz, et qui approchent plutot du poil de Caſtor que de laine." *t.* 2.

BOOKS.

IMmediately after it was found, by a solemn decision in the last resort, that authors, and their assigns, have no right in books composed by them, but what is given by the statute 8° Ann. the booksellers whose pretended right was annihilated by that decision, applied for relief. — The judgement was pronounced on the 22d of February [233, 7.], and on the 28th of that month, a petition of the booksellers of London and Westminster, on behalf of themselves and others, holders of copy-right, was presented to the Commons by Ald. Harley, setting forth, That by an act 8° Ann. *for the encouragement of learning, by vesting the copies of printed books in the authors and purchasers of such copies during the times therein mentioned*, it was enacted, That from and after the 10th of April 1710, the authors or proprietors of such books as had been then printed, should have the sole liberty of reprinting and publishing the same for twenty-one years, to commence from the said 10th of April 1710, and no longer; that the petitioners constantly apprehended, that the said act did not interfere with any copy-right that might be invested in the petitioners by the common law, and therefore, for many years past, they continued to purchase and sell such copy-rights in the same manner as if such act had never been made; that the petitioners were confirmed in such their apprehensions, in regard that no determination was had during all that period in prejudice of such common-law right, and the same was actually recognised by a judgement of the court of king's-bench in Easter term 1769 [xxxi. 716. xxxii. 453.]; that, in consequence thereof, many thousand pounds have been, at different times, invested in the purchase of ancient copy-rights, not protected by the statute of Q. Anne, so that the support of many families does in a great measure depend on the same; and that by a late solemn decision of the House of Peers, such common-law right of authors and their assigns hath been declared to have no existence, whereby the petitioners will be very great sufferers through their involuntary misapprehension of the law: therefore praying the House to take their singularly hard case into consideration, and to grant them such relief in the premisses as to the House should seem meet.

This petition was referred to a committee, and upon a motion by Mr Greaves, it was ordered, that there should be laid before the House, a list, and transcript of the entries in the register-book of the company of stationers, with the respective dates of such entries, of all books to the copies whereof any claims were made, with the names of the persons claiming. But this order was afterwards discharged.

The committee met on the 9th of March, Ald. Harley in the chair; and had sundry other meetings; to one of which an account was given in of money laid out at public sales for copy-right, which amounted to 49,981 l. 5 s. exclusive of what had been sold by private contract.

On the 24th of March Mr Paul Feilde, chairman of the committee in the absence of Ald. Harley, reported, that the committee had examined evidence, and found the facts stated to be true; and, after saying a great deal in favour of the petitioners, moved, That leave be given to bring in a bill for the relief of the booksellers, and other holders of copy-right; and to allow them a further limited time for their sole property in copy-right. — The Attorney-General, on the other hand, was very severe on the London booksellers: he said, they were a set of impudent monopolizing men, and had combined to raise a fund of upwards of 3000 l. in order to file bills in chancery against any person who should endeavour to get a livelihood as well as themselves. — Mr Dunning, in his answer, said, that his honourable and learned friend [Mr Thurloe], not a month since, was of opinion that the London booksellers were in the right, but since the decision of the House of Lords, and that Mr Donaldson had become his client, he had changed his opinion. [This shows the propriety of a resolution of our general assembly in 1751 [xiii. 258.], That no member of assembly or commission should act as counsel before those courts.] Mr Mansfield said, that the subscription entered into by the London booksellers, was for the purpose of indemnifying country-booksellers who had

had ignorantly bought pirated editions, the real proprietors names being falſely prefixed, by buying from them the books they had ſo bought. Lord Folkſtone propoſed an amendment, after "copy-right," to inſert, "who ſhall have purchaſed within a certain time to be limited." But the queſtion being put, That the amendment ſtand part of the motion? it paſſ'd in the negative, 54 to 16. The queſtion on the original motion was then put, and carried, 51 againſt 25. A bill was ordered in accordingly.

The nature of literary propery has already been ſo fully laid before our readers, in the pleadings of counſel, and the opinions of both the Scottiſh and Engliſh judges, and of ſome of the Peers [9. 57. 65. 121. 233, 7.], that it is unneceſſary to repeat, from the petitions againſt theſe London bookſellers, what has been ſo recently inſerted. There were ſeveral ſuch petitions.

A petition of the bookſellers, printers, and others, whoſe dependence is on the trade of bookſelling and printing, reſiding in the city of Edinburgh, was preſented to the Houſe April 21. in which the petitioners ſay, they are informed, that the aim of the London bookſellers is, to obtain an exerciſe, for a limited time, of the excluſive privilege of printing beyond the terms of the act of Q. Anne. Next day, a petition of ſundry bookſellers in London and Weſtminſter, on behalf of themſelves and their brethren in the country, and alſo a petition of the printers and bookſellers of the city and univerſity of Glaſgow, were preſented. In the laſt mentioned but one, it is ſaid, that only a very ſmall number of the bookſellers of London and Weſtminſter are materially affected by the late deciſion of the Houſe of Lords; that many who have little or no intereſt therein, have ſigned the petition for relief, through fear or friendſhip, or from other motives; and from ſimilar motives many others have declined ſigning this petition, though they deprecate, with the preſent petitioners, the eſtabliſhment of the monopoly; that the monopoliſts met with very little oppoſition till the year 1746 or 1747, when J. Oſborn, a bookſeller of property in Pater-noſter-row, having quarrelled with his brethren, began printing very correct and cheap editions of ſome of their copies, and that no reſource was found but tempting him by bribery to quit his project; and about the year 1750, they found means to induce him (it is ſaid by an annuity of 200l.) to quit buſineſs. — All the petitioners prayed to be heard by counſel againſt the bill; and they were all ordered to lie on the table.

Mr Feilde preſented the bill April 22. and it was read a firſt time. — Mr Dempſter deſired the Houſe to be attentive, as this was a bill to reverſe a decree of the ſupreme court of judicature in the kingdom. Col. Onſlow ſaid, that he held what the Lords did to be the law of the land, but it was no new thing, to apply for redreſs againſt laws when they were particularly hard and cruel; that he believed there would have been no occaſion for this bill, had the judge who was ſilent in the Houſe of Lords, [Lord Mansfield, who did not give his opinion as a judge, and did not ſpeak as a Peer], delivered his opinion, which he ought to have done; that by their opinions people were to be guided, that for thoſe purpoſes they had large ſalaries, and that no one of them ought to be above their office. In this Mr Feilde agreed with the Colonel. — The bill was ordered to be read a ſecond time on the 4th of May; at which time counſel were allowed to be heard for the petitioners againſt the bill, and alſo in favour of the bill.

A petition of Alexander Donaldſon bookſeller in London [and likewiſe in Edinburgh] was preſented April 26. praying, that the ſtatute of Q. Anne, which was expreſsly made for the encouragement of learning, might not now be altered, or ſuſpended, for the encouragement of the London bookſellers only; and that he might be heard by counſel againſt the bill. Which was allowed.

On an application to the annual committee of the Royal Boroughs of Scotland, by the bookſellers, printers, &c. in and about Edinburgh, the preſes of the committee ſent a letter to all the boroughs, April 14. ſignifying, that the committee were unanimouſly of opinion, that the ſubject-matter of the bill aforementioned, was of great conſequence to this country, and to many of the royal boroughs in particular; and therefore begging of them to apply immediately to their members, to uſe all their intereſt in oppoſing the bill's paſſing.

A petition of the bookſellers, printers, and bookbinders, of York, was preſented, May 4. praying, that the ſtatute 8o

Ann. as lately explained by the Houſe of Lords, might ſtand in full force, and be neither amended nor extended; and that they might be heard by counſel againſt the bill. The petition was ordered to lie on the table till the ſecond reading of the bill; which was put off from the 4th till the 10th of May.

Accordingly the bill was read a ſecond time May 10. and counſel heard upon it then and on the 13th.—Sir John Dalrymple, on behalf of the counter-petitioners, ſaid, That a large number of the men who had ſigned the petition for the bill, were proprietors of thoſe infamous news-papers which had traduced the ſovereign, and abuſed the members of each houſe of parliament. He dwelt much upon this idea, and was by no means ſparing of his ſeverities on the bookſellers; poſitively aſſerting, that they entirely governed the news-papers; and that after having, in the moſt bare-faced and ſcandalous manner, abuſed every gentleman preſent, and every perſon in exiſtence, the old for not being young, the young for not being old, the poor for not being rich, and the rich for not being poor; after having called a man a ſcoundrel if he accepted a place, and a fool if he reſigned it; after having vented every calumny which impudence and ignorance could give birth to, he ſaid they came now and aſked favour from the very objects of their abuſe. And Col. Onſlow having ſaid, that "a learned counſel certainly thought, there was ſuch a thing as copy-right, when he ſold his Hiſtory for 2000 l. [xxxv. 140.]; yet he, lawyer-like, at the bar went from his own opinion in behalf of his client;" Sir John ſaid, he could not conclude without clearing up a point reſpecting himſelf. It was generally found, that the arguments of a counſel went a great way, eſpecially if he was an honeſt man. It had been thrown out againſt him, that after having ſold the copy of a book, which had the misfortune univerſally to diſpleaſe, although it was univerſally read; which had been ſaid to have been printed under the patronage of kings and miniſters, although it was never ſeen by either till it was printed; of this book he was charged with having ſold the perpetual and excluſive right of multiplying the copy for 2000 l. and immediately afterwards taking an active part to deſtroy the value of the very property which he had ſo diſpoſed of. This inſinuation was, he ſaid, as falſe as it was ſcandalous; for that immediately after the deciſion in the Houſe of Lords, he went to Mr Cadell, and told him, that if any loſs accrued from the event of the deciſion, he would ſuſtain it himſelf, and would not ſuffer it to fall on Mr Cadell.—In anſwer to Sir John, Mr Mansfield ſaid, "I do not wonder at the learned advocate's being loud in reprehending the news-papers: no language can be too ſevere, too opprobious for them, Sir: they not only attack the characters of King, Lords, and Commons, but, Sir, they have the inſolence to traduce authors and their productions; even that learned, and admired volume, that prodigy of hiſtorical merit, the Memoirs of Great Britain [xxxv. 140.], has not eſcaped their malice: Sir, they have dared to queſtion the veracity of that renowned hiſtorian; and after ſuch daring, can any thing too virulent be urged againſt them?—It is evident, that the counter-petitioners, as well as the petitioners, thought that there did exiſt a common-law right: I have in my hand an authority which will, I doubt not, be admitted on the other ſide. It is a letter *, Sir, from a great author to a learned judge, complaining of the piratical practices of Scotch and Iriſh bookſellers. This proves, that the petitioners alone were not without reaſon jealous of the Scotch printers. This letter ſpeaks the language of the heart, it deſcribes things as they are, it wears no artificial dreſs; it differs, Sir, exceedingly from the light in which the learned advocate on the other ſide has painted the printers of Glaſgow; it records not their glory, it only ſpeaks of their peculation." —— After the pleadings were finiſhed, there was a long debate; which iſſued in two queſtions: 1. Whether to adjourn? which paſſed in the negative. 39 to 34. 2. Whether to commit the bill for Monday? which carried, Ayes 36, Noes 10.

The order of the day being read May 16. for the Houſe to reſolve itſelf into a committee; after debate, in which Col. Onſlow ſaid, he had letters in his pocket from Hume, Robertſon, and Beattie, all which ſeemed to expreſs a deſire that the bill might paſs, it was carried, 57 to 26, that the Speaker ſhould leave the chair. In the committee the blanks were filled up. The additional term given to the

* A letter ſent ſome time ſince from Sir John Dalrymple, to Judge Blackſtone.

holders

holders of copy-right not protected by the act of Q. Anne was fourteen years, and the act was to commence from June 4. 1774.

Mr Feilde gave in the report May 20.; which was agreed to, and the bill was ordered to be ingroſſed.

On reading the order of the day, May 27. for the third reading of the bill, Mr Charles Fox exclaimed vehemently againſt it: he ſaid, that he was aſtoniſhed how any perſon could have the aſſurance, ſuppoſing the bill ſhould paſs that Houſe, to carry it to the Lords; that the friends of the bill knew, that ſo infamous a bill would not bear conſideration, and therefore had hurried it on through every ſtage in a ſhameful manner, never wiſhing to have more than forty members, (ſufficient to conſtitute a Houſe); but unluckily for them they had made their Houſe once too thin, for they had not members ſufficient to conſtitute a Houſe. Mr Stephen Fox, Mr Dempſter, and Lord Beauchamp, alſo ſpoke againſt the bill: but the queſtion being put, That this bill be now read a third time? it carried, Ayes 40, Noes 22. The bill was then read a third time, and paſſed; and Mr Feilde was ordered to carry it to the Lords.

The firſt reading of the bill in the Houſe of Lords came on June 2. Lord Denbigh ſaid, that the very principle of the bill was totally inadmiſſible; and that it was not neceſſary to call witneſſes, or to make any inquiry into a bill that violated the rights of individuals, and affronted that Houſe; and therefore moved, that the ſecond reading ſhould be put off for two months.

Lord Lyttelton was for its being read a ſecond time, and ſaid, that he had letters from Dr Robertſon, Mr Hume, &c. in favour of the bill, and that the price the bookſellers gave for Hawkeſworth's voyages was proof that they did believe they had a common-law right: That this bill was not to repeal that deciſion which the Houſe had come to, but to relieve men who had laid out about 60,000 l. in copy-right ſince the year 1769.

The Lord Chancellor obſerved, that the bookſellers never could imagine that they had a common-law right, for that all the injunctions were on the ſtatute, except that of Lord Hardwicke in 1752, which Lord Hardwicke granted on condition that the cauſe ſhould be tried at common law, but that the bookſellers would not venture on it; nor did they ever bring any action thereon till lately in the cauſe of Millar and Taylor. His Lordſhip obſerved, that his late deciſion on the ground of the common-law right had no reference to his own private opinion, for in that judgement he was neceſſarily governed by the prior one in the court of king's-bench, and was obliged to decree according thereto; but that he was ſatisfied there never did exiſt a common-law right, and that the bookſellers were not miſtaken on that head: that the monopoly was ſupported among them by oppreſſion and combination, and that there were none of their allegations, nor any part of the bill, required further inquiry.

Lord Camden ſaid, that they never could ſuppoſe a common-law right, for that it was firſt ſupported by ſtar-chamber decrees; that when they obtained the act 8° Ann. they could not ſuppoſe it; for the advantage and ſecurity of that act were far ſhort of what the common law afforded them, had their claims been defenſible on that ground; that on the expiration of the monopoly in 1731, they could not fall into ſuch a miſtake, for they applied to parliament for an extenſion of the monopoly in the years 1735, 6, 7: That he really could not compliment thoſe gentlemen who had eſpouſed that opinion, by ſuppoſing that it was a caſe in the leaſt doubtful; for that he had always conſidered it as the cleareſt and moſt obvious that could poſſibly be; that during his practice in the law, he always found the gentlemen of the profeſſion univerſally againſt it: That it was aſſerted in the bill, that it was a prevailing opinion that a common-law right did exiſt; that if they meant that ſuch an opinion prevailed among others than bookſellers, he would venture to ſay there was 50 to 1 againſt it; and with reſpect to bookſellers, he had ground to ſay, that many London bookſellers were not of that opinion; that all the country-bookſellers, and thoſe of Ireland, Scotland, and America, were againſt it: That he could not but think this attempt an affront on the Houſe; for that they having determined between the contending parties, that one of them had uſurped for forty years the rights that did not belong to them, and that the other party had been injured and deprived of their rights, that this preſent

ſent proceeding contradicted the whole of that principle, and reverſed the ſtate of the parties; that it treated the latter as thieves and pirates, and the firſt as oppreſſed and injured, and deſerving of having the poſſeſſion of others taken from them for their particular emolument: That the monopolizing bookſellers had robbed others of their property; for that printing was a lawful trade, and, without all manner of doubt, therefore they had a property in it; conſequently thus to deprive printers of the ſubject on which they might lawfully exerciſe their trade, was robbing them of their property: That they had maintained this monopoly by moſt iniquitous oppreſſions, and exerciſed it to the diſgrace of printing: That they were monopoliſts, and if the line of juſtice and equity were drawn, it would be, that thoſe who had deprived others of their right for a ſeries of years, ſhould make compenſation to all thoſe they had injured by ſuch conduct. His Lordſhip ſaid further, that if the bill had ſtated what particular ſet of men had been injured, and what loſs they had ſuſtained, they might have had ſome favour ſhewn them; but in the preſent ſtate they could have none. He concluded with hoping that their Lordſhips would reject the bill.

The queſtion being put, That the ſecond reading be put off for two months? came out thus: Contents 21, Not contents 11. So the bill was dropt.—Lord Mansfield was not in the Houſe.

Mr URBAN, *October* 1774.

I Hope that by your means an error, which is of the greateſt conſequence to the lives of many poor unhappy wretches, may no longer exiſt, but be exploded out of all ſocieties. It is this, That if the lungs of a deceaſed infant, when put into water, ſwims, it is admitted as evidence that the child was born alive. Now, Sir, if this experiment (ſo much relied on) is proved to be uncertain and fallacious, I hope you will grant with me, it is an experiment of very dangerous import.--That it has proved to be ſuch, there are many gentlemen of the faculty can teſtify, who were preſent at Surgeon's-hall when it was lately declared to be ſo by a learned gentleman in full court, when, on reading a lecture on the lungs, he took occaſion to break off from the ſubject, and deliver himſelf in words to this effect.

"And here I muſt beg leave, Gentlemen, to take notice of a method made uſe of by ſome of the faculty, to aſcertain whether an infant is born alive or dead; which is by opening the thorax of the ſuſpected infant, taking out the lungs, and caſting them into water: if they ſink, it is looked upon as a fact the child was ſtill-born; but if they ſwim, then without all doubt the child was born alive. The truth of this experiment is founded on theſe reaſons: All creatures which come into the world alive muſt breathe, which breath being received into the lungs, muſt neceſſarily inflate and puff them up; and though in death it in a great meaſure expires, yet there ſtill remains ſo much air in the *veſiculæ*, as to make them buoyant in water: on the contrary, when ſtill-born, as it is impoſſible, in that ſtate, for the lungs to receive air; they muſt conſequently ſubſide and ſink.

Now this manner of reaſoning, however ſpecious it may appear, or whatever authority it may be ſupported by, is not ſtrictly true, as I myſelf can affirm, having, in the courſe of my practice, had an opportunity of trying the foregoing experiment upon two different births; the one was born alive, but died ſoon after; the other dead; when behold the lungs of the former ſunk, and thoſe of the other, to our great aſtoniſhment, ſwam. Theſe, together with many other experiments I have ſince made upon the lungs of different animals, convince me, that there is no dependence upon what Dr Gibſon looked upon as infallible: for although it may ſometimes prove true, upon the whole it ſhould be regarded no otherwiſe than as a very uncertain and precarious proof of the fact in queſtion. I make bold, therefore, humbly to recommend it to all the gentlemen who now hear me, as a thing of the utmoſt conſequence, to take every opportunity to explode ſuch a notion out of our practice, and to be particularly careful to caution our pupils againſt giving judgement in ſuch caſes, ſince it may come to paſs, that on ſuch judgement may depend the lives of many poor unhappy women."—

Theſe, Sir, were the remarks made by that learned gentleman, whoſe name and great merit is well known in London.

W. P.

A catalogue of NEW BOOKS, with remarks and extracts, continued. [494.]

The Patriot. Addreſſed to the electors of G. Britain. 6 *d.* Cadell.

PAtriotiſm, the moſt worthy and moſt glorious of human virtues, hath, of late, *in this country*, not only fallen from its illuſtrious height in the ſcale of honourable diſtinctions, but is even ſunk down to contempt, and is become the ſcorn and the by-word of the very rabble. He who wiſhes to ſee the various combining cauſes of this diſgraceful revolution brought into one collective point of view, will meet with the melancholy ſatisfaction which he requires, in the peruſal of this little eſſay, which is aſcribed to one of the firſt writers of the age, [Dr Johnſon]: the ſtyle, indeed, ſufficiently ſpeaks the pen. M.

This maſterly writer begins with obſerving, that " to ſelect and depute thoſe by whom laws are to be made and taxes to be granted, is a high dignity, and important truſt: and it is the buſineſs of every elector, to conſider how this dignity may be well ſuſtained, and this truſt faithfully diſcharged. It ought (continues he) to be deeply impreſſed on the minds of all who have voices in this national deliberation, that no man can deſerve a ſeat in parliament who is not a PATRIOT. No other man will protect our rights, no other man can merit our confidence."—— Our author then proceeds to ſhew what a patriot is, as follows.

" A Patriot is he whoſe public conduct is regulated by one ſingle motive, the love of his country; who, as an agent in parliament, has for himſelf neither hope nor fear, neither kindneſs nor reſentment, but refers every thing to the common intereſt.

That of 500 men, ſuch as this degenerate age affords, a majority can be found thus virtuouſly abſtracted, who will affirm? Yet there is no good in deſpondence; vigilance and activity often effect more than was expected. Let us take a patriot where we can meet him; and that we may not flatter ourſelves by falſe appearances, diſtinguiſh thoſe marks which are certain, from thoſe which may deceive: for a man may have the external appearance of a patriot, without the conſtituent qualities; as falſe coins have often luſtre, though they want weight.

Some claim a place in the liſt of patriots by an acrimonious and unremitting oppoſition to the court.

This mark is by no means infallible. Patriotiſm is not neceſſarily included in rebellion. A man may hate his king, yet not love his country. He that has been refuſed a reaſonable or unreaſonable requeſt, who thinks his merit under-rated, and ſees his influence declining, begins ſoon to talk of natural equality, the abſurdity of many made for one, the original compact, the foundation of authority, and the majeſty of the people. As his political melancholy increaſes, he tells, and perhaps dreams, of the advances of the prerogative, and the dangers of arbitrary power: yet his deſign in all his declamation is not to benefit his country, but to gratify his malice.

Theſe, however, are the moſt honeſt of the opponents of government: their patriotiſm is a ſpecies of diſeaſe; and they feel ſome part of what they expreſs. But the greater, far the greater, number of thoſe who rave and rail, and inquire and accuſe, neither ſuſpect, nor fear, nor care for the public; but hope to force their way to riches by virulence and invective, and are vehement and clamorous, only that they may be ſooner hired to be ſilent.

A man ſometimes ſtarts up a patriot, only by diſſeminating diſcontent, and propagating reports of ſecret influence, of dangerous counſels, of violated rights, and incroaching uſurpation.

This practice is no certain note of patriotiſm. To inſtigate the populace with rage beyond the provocation, is to ſuſpend public happineſs, not to deſtroy it. He is no lover of his country, that unneceſſarily diſturbs its peace. Few errors, and few faults of government, can juſtify an appeal to the rabble; who ought not to judge of what they cannot underſtand, and whoſe opinions are not propagated by reaſon, but caught by contagion.

The fallacioufneſs of this note of patriotiſm is particularly apparent, when the clamour continues after the evil is paſt. They who are now filling our ears with Mr Wilkes, and the freeholders of Middleſex, lament a grievance which is now at an end. Mr Wilkes may be choſen, if any will chuſe him: and the precedent

cedent of his excluſion makes not any honeſt, or any decent man, think himſelf in danger.

It may be doubted, whether the name of a patriot can be fairly given as the reward of ſecret ſatire, or open outrage.——

To offer a petition not expected to be granted; to inſult a king with a rude remonſtrance, only becauſe there is no puniſhment for legal inſolence, is not courage, for there is no danger; nor patriotiſm, for it tends to the ſubverſion of order, and lets wickedneſs looſe upon the land, by deſtroying the reverence due to ſovereign authority.

It is the quality of patriotiſm to be jealous and watchful, to obſerve all ſecret machinations, and to ſee public dangers at a diſtance. The true lover of his country is ready to communicate his fears, and to ſound the alarm, whenever he perceives the approach of miſchief. But he founds no alarm when there is no enemy: he never terrifies his countrymen till he is terrified himſelf. The patriotiſm therefore may be juſtly doubted of him, who profeſſes to be diſturbed by incredibilities; who tells, that the laſt peace was obtained by bribing the Princeſs of Wales; that the King is graſping at arbitrary power; and that becauſe the French in the new conqueſts enjoy their own laws, there is a deſign at court of aboliſhing in England the trial by juries.

Still leſs does the true patriot circulate opinions which he knows to be falſe. No man who loves his country, fills the nation with clamorous complaints, that the Proteſtant religion is in danger, becauſe Popery is eſtabliſhed in the extenſive province of Quebec; a falſehood ſo open and ſhameleſs, that it can need no confutation among thoſe who know that of which it is almoſt impoſſible for the moſt unenlightened zealot to be ignorant:

That Quebec is on the other ſide of the Atlantic, at too great a diſtance to do much good or harm to the European world:

That the inhabitants being French, were always Papiſts, who are certainly more dangerous as enemies than as ſubjects:

That though the province be wide, the people are few, probably not ſo many as may be found in one of the larger Engliſh counties:

That perſecution is not more virtuous in a Proteſtant than a Papiſt; and that while we blame Lewis XIV. for his dragoons and his gallies, we ought, when power comes into our hands, to uſe it with greater equity:

That when Canada with its inhabitants was yielded, the free enjoyment of their religion was ſtipulated [xxi. 548. xxiv. 570. xxv. 136.]; a condition of which K. William, who was no propagator of Popery, gave an example nearer home, at the ſurrender of Limeric:

That in an age where every mouth is open for liberty of conſcience, it is equitable to ſhew ſome regard to the conſcience of a Papiſt, who may be ſuppoſed, like other men, to think himſelf ſafeſt in his own religion; and that thoſe at leaſt who enjoy a toleration, ought not to deny it to our new ſubjects.

If liberty of conſcience be a natural right, we have no power to with-hold it; if it be an indulgence, it may be allowed to Papiſts, while it is not denied to other ſects.

A patriot is neceſſarily and invariably a lover of the people. But even this mark may ſometimes deceive us.

The people is a very heterogeneous and confuſed maſs of the wealthy and the poor, the wiſe and the fooliſh, the good and the bad. Before we confer on a man who careſſes the people the title of patriot, we muſt examine to what part of the people he directs his notice. It is proverbially ſaid, that he who diſſembles his own character, may be known by that of his companions. If the candidate of patriotiſm endeavours to infuſe right opinions into the higher ranks, and by their influence to regulate the lower; if he conſorts chiefly with the wiſe, the temperate, the regular, and the virtuous; his love of the people may be urged in his favour. But if his firſt or principal application be to the indigent, who are always inflammable; to the weak, who are naturally ſuſpicious; to the ignorant, who are eaſily miſled; and to the proſtigate, who have no hope but from miſchief and confuſion; his love of the people proves little in his favour.

A patriot is always ready to countenance the juſt claims, and animate the reaſonable hopes, of the people; he reminds them frequently of their rights, and ſtimulates them to reſent incroachments, and to multiply ſecurities.

But

But all this may be done in appearance, without real patriotiſm. He that raiſes falſe hopes to ſerve a preſent purpoſe, only makes way for diſappointment and diſcontent. He who promiſes to endeavour what he knows his endeavours unable to effect, means only to delude his followers by an empty clamour of ineffectual zeal.

A true patriot is no laviſh promiſer: he undertakes not to ſhorten parliaments, to repeal laws, or to change the mode of repreſentation tranſmitted by our anceſtors: he knows, that futurity is not in his power, and that all times are not alike favourable to change.

Much leſs does he make a vague and indefinite promiſe of obeying the mandates of his conſtituents. He knows the prejudices of faction, and the inconſtancy of the multitude. He would firſt inquire, how the opinion of his conſtituents ſhall be taken. Popular inſtructions are commonly the work, not of the wiſe and ſteady, but the violent and raſh; and meetings held for directing repreſentatives, are ſeldom attended but by the idle and the diſſolute: and he is not without ſuſpicion, that of his conſtituents, as of other numbers of men, the ſmaller part may often be the wiſer.

He conſiders himſelf as deputed to promote the public good, and to preſerve his conſtituents, with the reſt of his countrymen, not only from being hurt by others, but from hurting themſelves."

Theſe and other common marks of patriotiſm are here briefly but clearly examined; and it is ſhewn, that they are all ſuch as artifice may eaſily counterfeit, or folly miſapply.—The author then proceeds to inquire, whether there are not ſome characteriſtical modes of ſpeaking and acting, which may prove a man to be *not a patriot*. And here he takes occaſion to animadvert on the conduct of thoſe who are ever ready to blow the coals of diſcord, and embroil their country with its neighbours.

"As war," ſays he, "is one of the heavieſt of national evils, a calamity in which every ſpecies of miſery is involved; as it ſets the general ſafety to hazard, ſuſpends commerce, and deſolates the country; as it expoſes great numbers to hardſhips, dangers, captivity, and death; no man who deſires the public proſperity, will inflame national reſentment, by aggravating minute injuries, or enforcing diſputable rights of little importance.

It may therefore be ſafely pronounced, that thoſe men are no patriots, who when the national honour was vindicated in the ſight of Europe, and the Spaniards having invaded what they called their own, had ſhrunk to a diſavowal of their attempt, and a ceſſion of their claim [xxxii. 510, 26. xxxiii. 13. 14.], would ſtill have inſtigated us to a war for a bleak and barren ſpot in the Magellanic ocean, of which no uſe could be made, unleſs it were a place of exile for the hypocrites of patriotiſm.

Yet let it not be forgotten, that by the howling violence of patriotic rage, the nation was for a time exaſperated to ſuch madneſs, that for a barren rock, under a ſtormy ſky, we might have now been fighting and dying, had not our competitors been wiſer than ourſelves; and thoſe who are now courting the favour of the people by noiſy profeſſions of public ſpirit, would, while they were counting the profits of their artifice, have enjoyed the patriotic pleaſure of hearing ſometimes that thouſands had been ſlaughtered in a battle, and ſometimes that a navy had been diſpeopled by poiſoned air and corrupted food.

He that wiſhes to ſee his country robbed of its rights, cannot be a patriot.

That man therefore is no patriot, who juſtifies the ridiculous claims of American uſurpation; who endeavours to deprive the nation of its natural and lawful authority over its own colonies; thoſe colonies which were ſettled under Engliſh protection, were conſtituted by an Engliſh charter, and have been defended by Engliſh arms.

To ſuppoſe, that by ſending out a colony, the nation eſtabliſhed an independent power; that when, by indulgence and favour, emigrants are become rich, they ſhall not contribute to their own defence, but at their own pleaſure; and that they ſhall not be included, like millions of their fellow-ſubjects, in the general ſyſtem of repreſentation, involves ſuch an accumulation of abſurdity, as nothing but the ſhew of patriotiſm could palliate.

He that accepts protection, ſtipulates obedience. We have always protected the Americans; we may therefore ſubject them to government.

The leſs is included in the greater. That power which can take away life,

may ſeize upon property. The parliament may enact for America a law of capital puniſhment; it may therefore eſtabliſh a mode and proportion of taxation.

But there are ſome who lament the ſtate of the poor Boſtonians, becauſe they cannot all be ſuppoſed to have committed acts of rebellion, yet all are involved in the penalty impoſed. This, they ſay, is to violate the juſt rule of juſtice, by condemning the innocent to ſuffer with the guilty.

This deſerves ſome notice, as it ſeems dictated by juſtice and humanity, however it may raiſe contempt, by the ignorance which it betrays of the ſtate of man, and the ſyſtem of things. That the innocent ſhould be confounded with the guilty, is undoubtedly an evil; but it is an evil which no care or caution can prevent. National crimes require national puniſhments, of which many muſt neceſſarily have their part who have not incurred them by perſonal guilt. If rebels ſhould fortify a town, the cannon of lawful authority will endanger equally the harmleſs burghers and the criminal garriſon.

In ſome caſes, thoſe ſuffer moſt who are leaſt intended to be hurt. If the French in the late war had taken an Engliſh city, and permitted the natives to keep their dwellings, how could it have been recovered but by the ſlaughter of our friends? A bomb might as well deſtroy an Engliſhman as a Frenchman; and by famine we know that the inhabitants would be the firſt that ſhould periſh.

This infliction of promiſcuous evil may therefore be lamented, but cannot be blamed. The power of lawful government muſt be maintained; and the miſeries which rebellion produce, can be charged only on the rebels."

To theſe obſervations are added a juſt cenſure of thoſe who with-hold from government its due praiſe:

"That man likewiſe is *not a patriot*, who denies his governors their due praiſe, and who conceals from the people the benefits which they receive. Thoſe therefore can lay no claim to this illuſtrious appellation, who impute want of public ſpirit to the late parliament; an aſſembly of men, whom, notwithſtanding ſome fluctuation of counſel, and ſome weakneſs of agency, the nation muſt always remember with gratitude, ſince it is indebted to them for a very ample conceſſion in the reſignation of protections, and a wiſe and honeſt attempt to improve the conſtitution, in the new judicature inſtituted for the trial of elections. [xxxii. 345. 413.]

The right of protection, which might be neceſſary when it was firſt claimed, and was very conſiſtent with that liberality of immunities in which the feudal conſtitution delighted, was by its nature liable to abuſe, and had in reality been ſometimes miſapplied, to the evaſion of the law, and the defeat of juſtice. The evil was perhaps not adequate to the clamour; nor is it very certain, that the poſſible good of this privilege was not more than equal to the poſſible evil. It is however plain, that whether they gave any thing or not to the public, they at leaſt loſt ſomething from themſelves They diveſted their dignity of a very ſplendid diſtinction, and ſhewed that they were more willing than their predeceſſors to ſtand on a level with their fellow-ſubjects.

The new mode of trying elections, if it be found effectual, will diffuſe its conſequences further than ſeems yet to be foreſeen. It is, I believe, generally conſidered as advantageous only to thoſe who claim ſeats in parliament; but if to chuſe repreſentatives be one of the moſt valuable rights of Engliſhmen, every voter muſt conſider that law as adding to his happineſs, which makes his ſuffrage efficacious; ſince it was vain to chuſe, while the election could be controuled by any other power.

With what imperious contempt of ancient rights, and what audaciouſneſs of arbitrary authority, former parliaments have judged the diſputes about elections, it is not neceſſary to relate. The claim of a candidate, and the right of electors, are ſaid ſcarcely to have been, even in appearance, referred to conſcience; but to have been decided by party, by paſſion, by prejudice, or by frolic. To have friends in the borough was of little uſe to him who wanted friends in the houſe; a pretence was eaſily found to evade a majority, and the ſeat was at laſt his that was choſen, not by his electors, but his judges.

Thus the nation was inſulted with a mock election, and the parliament was filled with ſpurious repreſentatives; one of the moſt important claims, that of a right to ſit in the ſupreme council of the kingdom,

kingdom, was debated in jeſt, and no man could be confident of ſucceſs from the juſtice of his cauſe.

A diſputed election is now tried with the ſame ſcrupulouſneſs and ſolemnity as any other title. The candidate that has deſerved well of his neighbours, may now be certain of enjoying the effect of their approbation; and the elector who has voted honeſtly for known merit, may be certain that he has not voted in vain.

Such was the parliament, which ſome of thoſe who are now aſpiring to ſit in another, have taught the rabble to conſider as an unlawful convention of men, worthleſs, venal, and proſtitute, ſlaves of the court, and tyrants of the people.

That the next Houſe of Commons may act upon the principles of the laſt, with more conſtancy and higher ſpirit, muſt be the wiſh of all who wiſh well to the public; and it is ſurely not too much to expect, that the nation will recover from its deluſion, and unite in a general abhorrence of thoſe who, by deceiving the credulous with fictitious miſchiefs, overbearing the weak by audacity of falſehood, by appealing to the judgement of ignorance, and flattering the vanity of meanneſs, by ſlandering honeſty and inſulting dignity, have gathered round them whatever the kingdom can ſupply of baſe, and groſs, and profligate; and, *raiſed by merit to this bad eminence*, arrogate to themſelves the name of patriots."

This little tract comprehends, either expreſsly or in alluſion, a view of the moſt conſpicuous public tranſactions of this country for ſome years. Through the whole, the author addreſſes himſelf to the underſtanding of his readers. The pictures which he has drawn both of real and pretended patriotiſm, are juſt and characteriſtic; and it would greatly conduce to the tranquility of the nation, that the features were more generally known. C.

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CEleſtial Maid! propitious friend!
Queen of Futurity! attend,
And crown my humble lines;
For poets, like their monarchs, raiſe
On thee their pyramids of praiſe,
And all their vaſt deſigns.

Madly impatient of a name,
The rapid bard aſpires to fame,
His pilot thou alone!
But, ah! what hapleſs ills betide
The wretch who over runs his guide
To hail Ambition's throne!

Yet, bleſs'd by thee, what are the dreams
Of nymphs Aonian, or the ſtreams
Of fabled Helicon?
Rich draughts from thy all-cheering fount
Will lift us o'er Parnaſſus' mount
To heights beyond the ſun!

When o'er the unavailing ſtrife
Of man, to ſweeten human life,
Unfriendly ſtars prevail;
Ev'n there thy influence benign,
Rich beam! will in depreſſion ſhine,
And turn the ſinking ſcale.

When fierce Bellona calls to arms,
Thy flame the martial hero warms,
And ſtrengthens in the field;
Fluſh'd with ideal victory,
His confidence is plac'd in thee
Beyond Minerva's ſhield!

By thee inſpir'd, a hardy train
Advent'rous plough the foaming main,
And all its ſtorms defy;
Thro' thy perſpective glaſs they view
The golden treaſures of Peru
As Their own, in Fancy's eye.

Up borne by thee, the ſinking ſtate
Patiently bears th' enormous weight
Luxurious miſchief lays;
By thee, when Ruin's deſtin'd hand
With ſtroke deſtructive awes the land,
We ſtill ſee happier days.

At thy command the furrow'd field,
The barren glebe, rich treaſures yield,
And lonely deſerts ſmile;
Each ſweating peaſant, charm'd by thee,
Increaſing golden crops can ſee,
To recompenſe his toil.

Enwrapt in Winter's frozen arms,
When cold Acquarius opes in ſtorms
His northern magazines;
By thee his rude aſſaults we bear,
And ſee advancing Spring appear
In all her flow'ry ſcenes.

Thou, like the day's refulgent lord,
Thy genial comfort doſt afford,
Impartial, to the throng;
From nights of woe to mid-day blaze,
Affliction's ſons thy beam can raiſe,
And ſighs convert to ſong.

And thus, when conflicts wound the ſoul,
When Sorrow's waves tempeſtuous roll,
And blending ills annoy;
Upheld by thee, we baffle Fate,
And ſee a more auſpicious date
That rouſes us to joy.

Life, in its moſt exalted ſphere,
Unbleſt by thee, is empty air,
A bubble all, at beſt;
For when the buſy ſtrife is o'er,
Hope lifts us to a farther ſhore,
To an eternal reſt.

By thee we more divinely ſpring
Than on Imagination's wing,
Or Fancy's airy car;
High o'er ethereal fields we rove,
And trace the glorious realms above,
Where heaven's bright legions are!

But, loſt to reaſon, when we ſtray
Through Error's too-frequented way,
To give our paſſions ſcope;
Then, like an *ignus fatuus*, thou
Deluſive fly'ſt, a phantom now,
For what hath Vice to hope?

Through ev'ry age, thy friendly ray
Has ſtill illumin'd all the way
Where Virtue ever trod;
The great firſt cauſe, of all things known,
By thee, has pointed to the throne
Where bliſs proclaims the God!

Then let me ever bend to thee,
Parent of immortality!
And hail thy ſacred ſhrine!
Oh! guide me to the happy ſhore
Where thou ſhalt ceaſe, and all thy pow'r
To endleſs joys conſign!

The COMPLAINT: An Elegy on the preſent Northern Emigrations.

PHœbe, the leader of the ſtarry train,
Shone mildly o'er the varied landſcape wide;
Silence ſtood liſt'ning on the dewy plain,
And rock-born Echo ſlumber'd at her ſide.

When, as I wander'd ſolitary, ſlow,
Thro' fields that once were pleaſant, once were dear,
The notes of ſorrow, and the cry of woe,
Remote in mournful cadence ſtruck mine ear.

Fancy convey'd me to the diſtant ſcene—
A lengthen'd tract of deſert roſe to view;
There Deſolation fix'd her ſavage reign,
And Miſery o'erwhelm'd the hapleſs crew.

Preſs'd by the hand of Penury and Care,
The looks of Anguiſh and of Grief they wore:
Want chill'd their boſoms—led them to deſpair,
And Hope gleam'd comfort to their minds no more.

The rags of tatter'd raiment ſcarce ſupply'd
To ſoothe the rigour of th' inclement ſky:
To age, to youth, each ſuccour was deny'd,
And Innocence indulg'd the feeble cry.

The victims of Oppreſſion and Diſdain,
O'er pathleſs heaths they bent their caſual way;
Whilſt ev'ry ſtep they took increas'd their pain:
'Twas meagre Famine taught them thus to ſtray.

Such was the ſcene—when, thro' the ſhades of night,
Burſt rays of glory from the mountain's brow;
Inſtant a female form, ſupremely bright,
Unveil'd her grandeur, and appear'd to view.

The arms of CALEDONIA ſtill ſhe bore,
Her ancient enſigns, and the lunar ſhield,
That grac'd her children in the days of yore,
And brav'd the horrors of the martial field.

Looſe was her hair:—in weeds of ſorrow clad,
Sighing, ſhe ſaw her former glory ſtain'd;
And, as ſhe view'd the wrecks Oppreſſion made,
In ſtrains of piercing anguiſh thus *complain'd*:

"How long ſhall Want oppreſs my native land,
For deeds of mighty proweſs erſt renown'd?
How long ſhall Av'rice, with unſparing hand,
Spread rueful deſolation all around?

Shall theſe my ſons, unpitied and forlorn,
Be doom'd, as exiles, o'er the world to roam?
From their dear fields, and verdant vallies torn,
Seek the mean ſhelter of a diſtant home?

Shall

Shall they, the offspring of a warlike race,
Endure the pangs the wretched only know;
And, folded close in Penury's embrace,
Feel all the sad variety of woe?

Was it for this, with noble ardour fir'd,
Fought their bold fathers on the hostile plain?
For this the hero conquer'd, or expir'd,
While Roman legions urg'd their course in vain?

Ah no!—'Twas liberty their bosoms fir'd:
For this they fearless met th'embattl'd foe:
For this the hero vanquish'd or expir'd,
And Roman legions felt the deadly blow.

When future ages carol'd forth their praise,
Their future race fresh wreaths of glory won;
And what the hero's arm began to raise,
Was nobly finish'd by the hero's son.

They stretch'd the limits of my wide domain,
And, emulous, advanc'd my growing fame;
And, glorying in the splendor of my reign,
Affign'd new honours to my boasted name.

Inur'd to conquest, and the love of arms,
The servile chains of Tyranny they scorn'd;
While Merit's lasting meed, fair Freedom's charms,
Thro' many a future age their fields adorn'd.

Not so their sons!—O'er dreary heaths they roam,
Blest'd with the sweets of Liberty no more:
For distant climes they quit their native home,
And waft their fam'lies to some foreign shore.

Ev'n now, supported by no gen'rous friend,
Along the beach their journey they pursue;
Ev'n now, alas! the waiting bark ascend,
And, weeping, bid their native home adieu.

Will no kind patriot stem the threat'ning tide,
Restore my honours, and espouse their cause?
Check the curs'd reign of Insolence and Pride,
And nobly free them from Oppression's jaws?

If no kind patriot, with a hero's zeal,
The claims of Liberty and Peace restore;
Ah me! I too must bid these plains farewell,
And CALEDONIA's name be known no more!"

M——.

On the LIVERY of LONDON.

LOng have we mourn'd a loose degenerate age,
Your ancient spirit sunk in factious rage;
Party-distinctions big with rancorous hate,
In broils and strife destructive of the state;
By Wilkes amus'd, by artful sounds betray'd,
The ductile croud their leader's voice obey'd;
Cool in the *public cause*, for parties *hot*;
The *names* retain'd, the *principles* forgot.
Mourn now, ye Livery, your honour's gone;
Henceforth receive the *law* from Wilkes alone;
Become the *dupes* of fly aspiring *knaves*,
By *nature*, *freemen*; by your *folly*, *slaves*!

Guildhall, Oct. 13. HAMPDEN.

From Richardson's Specimen of Persian Poetry; or, Odes of Hafez. [206.]

HIther, O sophist, hither fly,
Behold this joy-inspiring bowl;
Bright as a ruby to the eye,
How must the taste rejoice the soul!

Love's sacred myst'ries would you know,
Learn them amidst the young, the gay;
Where mirth and wine profusely flow,
And mind not what the grave-ones say.

He wastes his time in idle play,
Who for the griffin spreads his snare:
'Tis vain—no more your nets display,
You only catch the fleeting air.

Since Fortune veers with every wind,
Enjoy the present happy hours:
Lo! the great father of mankind
Was banish'd Eden's blissful bowers.

Drink then, nor dread th'approach of age,
Nor let sad cares your mirth destroy;
For on this transitory stage
Think not to taste perpetual joy.

The spring of youth now disappears,
Why pluck you not life's only rose?
With virtue mark your future years,
This earthly scene with honour close.

With generous wine then fill the bowl,
Swift, swift to Jami, Zephyr, fly,
Tell him that Friendship's flow of soul,
Whilst Hafez lives, shall never die.

A SONG, by SYLVIA.

From The Search after Happiness, *by Miss Hannah Moore.* [93.]

SWeet Solitude, thou placid queen,
Of modest air, and brow serene,
'Tis thou inspir'st thy poet's themes,
Wrapp'd in soft visionary dreams.

Parent of virtue, nurse of thought,
By thee were saints and patriarchs taught,
Wisdom from thee her treasures drew,
And in thy lap fair Science grew.

Whate'er exalts, refines, and charms,
Invites to thought, to virtue warms,
Whate'er is perfect, fair and good,
We owe to thee, sweet Solitude.

In these blest shades thou dost maintain
Thy peaceful unmolested reign,
No turbulent desires intrude
On thy repose, sweet Solitude.

With thee the charm of life shall last,
Ev'n when its rosy bloom is past,
And when slow-pacing Time shall spread
Its silver blossoms o'er my head.

No more with this vain world perplex'd,
Thou shalt prepare me for the next;
The springs of life shall gently cease,
And angels point the way to peace.

H.

HISTORICAL AFFAIRS.

TURKY.

"*Conſtantinople, Sept.* 3. The Porte has ſent orders to the fleet in the Black ſea to return. An order was ſent by the late Vizir to the magiſtrates of Smyrna to proclaim the peace; which was done accordingly." *Lond. gaz.*

On the 8th of September the Aga of the Janiſſaries preſented to the Grand Vizir the ſtandard of Mahomet at Ponte-Piccolo; and the latter delivered it into the hands of the Grand Signior at Douat Pacha, whither his Sublime Highneſs had repaired to receive it. The entry of the Grand Signior and the Grand Vizir into the capital with the ſacred ſtandard, was extremely magnificent. In order to prevent the diſorders uſual on ſuch an occaſion, the Porte had forbidden the Chriſtians and Jews to appear in the ſtreets that day.

POLAND.

The opening of the grand tribunal of Poland, ſo long deferred from various cauſes, took place, at Petricau, on the 1ſt of September. M. Malachowſki, ſtaroſt of Sandeck, was unanimouſly elected Marſhal. This choice is ſaid to be in favour, not only of the King, but of all well-wiſhers of the country.

"*Warſaw, Oct.* 5. On the repreſentation of Prince Poninſki, and ſome of the ſenators, the diet is again prorogued to the 15th of November next, in order to give time to the delegates to regulate entirely the affair of marking the limits of the provinces ceded to the three allied courts."

"*Warſaw, Oct.* 1. A new ordinance is iſſued, that prohibits the Jews from remaining any longer in our cities and villages, unleſs they can prove themſelves proprietors of 100 ducats: if not, they will be diſperſed on the lands of the nobility, and condemned to cultivate them."

"*Warſaw, Sept.* 19. The Empreſs of Ruſſia has preſented the King with 250,000 rubles, in return for the domains which his Majeſty has loſt by the partition of Poland."

RUSSIA.

Pugatſcheff continued to ſpread deſolation for ſome time. After his late defeat [497.], he found means to get his army reinforced conſiderably: the Coſſacks belonging to the Ruſſian army in the Crimea found means to join him.

"*Peterſburg, Sept.* 23. Intelligence of a very diſagreeable nature has been juſt received at this court from Caſan. Pugatſcheff has again much improved his force, and Maj.-Gen. Gallitzin has received a conſiderable check from another body of the rebels commanded by a brother of the famous Pulawſky. On the receipt of this intelligence, orders were immediately iſſued by the department of war for freſh troops to be ſent to that quarter, and Gen. Gallitzin is confirmed in the chief command againſt the rebels, in the room of Field-Marſhal Potemſkin, who is recalled to Peterſburg."

"*Peterſburg, Sept.* 23. An officer arrived here on Wedneſday laſt from Col. Michelſon, who has been for ſome time in purſuit of Pugatſcheff, with an account of his having come up with his corps between Caricyn and Aſtracan, and that he had attacked and defeated him, taking his ammunition, cannon, and magazines; but that Pugatſcheff had found means to eſcape. The officer who brought this news to the Empreſs, was immediately raiſed to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel." *Lond. gaz.*

"*Peterſburg, Oct.* 7. The rebellion is now at an end, and the tranquillity of this empire reſtored, by the taking of the rebel Pugatſcheff, who has been ſo long the diſturber of it. The Empreſs received this agreeable and important news by a courier who arrived this morning from General Panin, with an account, that the above-mentioned traitor had been bound hand and foot by ſome of the Coſſacks of the Yaick, who were his adherents. Theſe people informing Gen. Panin of their having ſecured him, and of their readineſs to ſubmit, the General immediately ſent Prince Gallitzin to ſeize Pugatſcheff. The people in the revolted provinces have ſince, upon Gen. Panin's arrival among them, returned to their duty. The General is at preſent at a town called *Penſa*, the firſt that declared in favour of Pugatſcheff: the inhabitants of which have ſubmitted, and obtained pardon, except fifteen of the moſt culpable, who were hanged." *Lond. gaz.*

The Groningen, a Dutch frigate, which arrived at Venice, Aug. 23. from the Archipelago, gave an account, that on the 19th of July, Adm. Spiritoſſe detached the following ſquadron, under

the command of the Rear-Adm. Verganſlet, viz. the St Paul, of 60 guns, and 500 men; the Catharina and Revel, of 50 guns each; the Wyburgh, Moſcow, Archangel, and Gottorp, of 40 guns each; and three frigates of 30 guns, with ſeveral ſmaller veſſels, on a ſecret expedition to the coaſt of Syria; which coaſt the ſquadron made on the 26th, and came to an anchor about four in the afternoon. On the ſame night, about eight, a very hard gale came on, and increaſed to ſuch a violent degree, that before twelve all the ſhips of the ſquadron were either drove from their anchors, or obliged to cut their cables. In this confuſion, the Admiral's ſhip, the St Paul, ran foul of two of the frigates, one of which immediately ſunk, and the other was very much damaged. The St Paul ſoon after that ran aſhore, and was beat to pieces; the Admiral, with ten officers, and 400 of the men, being loſt in the wreck: the reſt of the crew getting on ſhore by different means. The Revel and Moſcow both foundered at ſea, as nothing was ſeen of them the next day when the ſtorm abated. The Gottorp and one of the frigates were likewiſe driven on ſhore, but did not beat to pieces; but all the ſmall veſſels, except two, were entirely deſtroyed. The remaining frigate arrived at Paros with this intelligence on the 7th, and Adm. Spiritoffe immediately diſpatched ſeveral ſhips to the relief of the ſhattered remains of the ſquadron.

The Unity, Bowden, from Meſſina for Liſbon, touched at Gibraltar, Sept. 2. and gave an account of an engagement between two Ruſſian frigates, and a ſmall ſquadron of Algerine corſairs, conſiſting of one ſhip of fifty guns, and five large zebeques from twenty-eight to fourteen guns, within ſixteen leagues of Oran. The two Ruſſian frigates were diſpatched from the Ruſſian rendezvous at the iſle of Paros to Peterſburg, with ſome advices and things of great value on board. They ſailed under Spaniſh colours till they fell in with the Algerine ſquadron; who, miſtaking them for merchant-ſhips, immediately began the attack. Upon this the frigates immediately hoiſted Ruſſian colours, and fired broadſides, which for ſome time threw the barbarians into a conſternation; but they ſoon recovered, and continued the fight, till the largeſt zebeque was ſunk; when the reſt made their eſcape to ſea, where the Ruſſians did not think proper to follow them.

SWEDEN.

"*Stockholm, Sept. 6.* Great ravages continue ſtill to be made by the ſickneſs among the horſes and oxen, particularly in the province of Tavaſthuus. His Majeſty has given it in charge to the college of phyſicians to inquire into the cauſes of theſe maladies, in order to put a ſtop to them; and has particularly ordered them to ſeek into the reaſons why ſome provinces ſhould be more ſubject to theſe diſaſters than others."

"*Stockholm, Sept.* 20. The King has ordered 300 tons of meal to be delivered to the miniſters of this city, to be by them diſtributed among the poor of their reſpective pariſhes."

FRANCE.

On the 10th of September a ſlight ſhock of an earthquake was felt at Straſburg. It was more ſenſibly felt at the ſame time at Belfort, where, in the interval of four minutes, there were three ſhocks; the ſecond of which ſhook all the timbers in many houſes, and threw the inhabitants into great conſternation. Their direction was from weſt to eaſt.

"*Paris, Sept.* 26. The epidemical diſorder has carried off all the horned cattle in Bearn and Navarre, notwithſtanding all the aſſiſtance that could be had was adminiſtered; and it is feared the horſes will be attacked therewith likewiſe. The government is endeavouring to replace the loſs with very great expence and trouble. This calamity has reduced that country to great miſery, and occaſions an univerſal ſcarcity."

ITALY.

"*Venice, Sept.* 10. The Candia frigate, Capt. Minone, belonging to this republic, has juſt arrived from Corfu, and brought the diſagreeable intelligence of a battle that happened between two Venetian men of war and four of the Ruſſians. The former had a great many men killed; and after loſing their maſts and rigging, they were obliged to take ſhelter under the caſtle of Corfu."

"*Turin.* A diſpute which ſubſiſted between the court of Sardinia and that of G. Britain, on account of Mr Macmara's daughter, who was intruſted to the care of the Counteſs of Lozelli, of Nice, is at laſt terminated. This is a proſelyte,

proſelyte, whom the Biſhop of Nice abjured, confeſſed, and adminiſtered the ſacrament to, at the age of nine years three months; which conduct, approved by the caſuiſts of Turin, though contrary to the canons of the church of Rome, has been condemned by the Pope, and all the excommunications and anathemas *de ipſo facto* pronounced by this court againſt thoſe who favoured the reſtitution of the child to her parents, have been declared null by the court of Rome, the epiſcopal functions of the Biſhop of Nice are ſuſpended during two years, and the caſuiſts and theological doctors of Turin are forbidden to ſupport and countenance ſuch doctrine for the future under pain of excommunication. The King of Sardinia entirely diſapproved of the proceedings of his clergy, but he would not take upon him to decide the queſtion without the authority of the court of Rome, that he might give his ſubjects a proof of his ſubmiſſion to the deciſion of that court. His conduct in this reſpect has ſo well ſatisfied the court of G. Britain, that it has given him time to make ſatisfaction without any diſputes with his clergy. The girl is returned to Ireland with her mother and ſiſter."

The Pope, Clement XIV. died, at Rome, on the 21ſt of September. See *Deaths*.

"*Rome, Oct.* 1. All the neceſſary preparations are making for the conclave. Father Barſanti is choſen Confeſſor, which office he performed at the laſt conclave. Two phyſicians, a ſurgeon, and apothecary, are alſo appointed; and on Thurſday laſt Cardinal Delci, as junior deacon, drew lots for the chambers each cardinal is to occupy; after which the Cardinals Spinola and Pantucci were deputed to chuſe the barbers, &c. for the conclave. The fifty cells for the conclave, being juſt the number of cardinals which at preſent compoſe the ſacred college, were appointed by lot on Thurſday laſt, and the cardinals are to enter into them on the 5th of this month."

PORTUGAL.

"*Verſailles, Sept.* 28. The laſt letters from Liſbon mention, that the differences which have ariſen between the Spaniſh and Portugueſe governors regarding the limits of Brazil and Paraguay, from which at firſt ſome bad conſequences were apprehended, will be adjuſted by the above-mentioned governors, without either of their courts interfering at all in the affair."

ENGLAND.

On the 17th of October 300 marines imbarked, at Portſmouth, on board the Aſia man of war; which, with the Scarborough and the Hind ſloop, ſailed for Boſton on the 24th.

"*At the court at St James's, Oct.* 19. 1774, *preſent the King in council.* Whereas an act was paſſed, 29° Geo. II. *to impower his Majeſty to prohibit the exportation of ſaltpetre, and to enforce the law for impowering his Majeſty to prohibit the exportation of gunpowder, or any ſort of arms and ammunition; and alſo to impower his Majeſty to reſtrain the carrying coaſtwiſe of ſaltpetre, gunpowder, or any ſort of arms or ammunition;* and his Majeſty, judging it neceſſary to prohibit the exportation of gunpowder, or any ſort of arms or ammunition, out of this kingdom, or carrying the ſame coaſtwiſe, for ſome time, doth therefore, with the advice of his privy council, hereby order, require, prohibit, and command, that no perſon or perſons whatſoever (except the Maſter-General of the Ordnance, for his Majeſty's ſervice) do, at any time, during the ſpace of ſix months from the date of this order in council, preſume to tranſport into any parts out of this kingdom, or carry coaſtwiſe, any gunpowder, or any ſort of arms or ammunition, or ſhip or lade any gunpowder, or any ſort of arms or ammunition, on board any ſhip or veſſel, in order to tranſporting the ſame into any parts beyond the ſeas, or carrying the ſame coaſtwiſe, without leave or permiſſion in that behalf firſt obtained from his Majeſty or his privy council, upon pain of incurring and ſuffering the reſpective forfeitures and penalties inflicted by the aforementioned act," &c.

"It is ſuppoſed," ſays a writer in the London papers, "upon a moderate computation, that the money ſaved by the late diſſolution of the parliament, will amount to half a million Sterling: and, indeed, when we conſider the immenſe ſums uſually expended by candidates; when we conſider the univerſal idleneſs, riot, and debauchery, into which the lower orders of the people were formerly for many weeks plunged, — we ſhould rather imagine, that double the ſaving was actually made by this benevolent

meaſure of the government. Our patriots, however, will poſſibly be as much offended at this ſtep as they were when the coin was reſcued from the hands of the clippers, and tell us, that this freſh ſtab into the vitals of corruption is wickedly intended to rivet the chains of the people."

At preſent the moſt remarkable occurrences are thoſe relating to elections: they are, however, ſo numerous, that we muſt content ourſelves with a few of them.

On Saturday, Oct. 1. the writs for the election of members for the city of London, and county of Middleſex, were delivered to the ſheriffs from the deputy clerk of the crown.

On Monday, Oct. 3. there was a numerous meeting of the livery at Guildhall, to nominate four gentlemen to repreſent the city.—Mr Compton moved, That a paper of inſtructions, which had been drawn up by a very reſpectable committee, for the candidates to ſign before they ſhould be put in nomination, might be read; and it was read, and is as follows.

"We do moſt ſolemnly promiſe, and engage ourſelves to our conſtituents, if we have the honour of being choſen to repreſent this city in parliament, that we will endeavour, to the utmoſt of our power, to reſtore and defend the excellent form of government modelled and eſtabliſhed at the revolution, and to promote and procure, and having procured, to maintain and continue, acts of the legiſlature,

For ſhortening the duration of parliaments:

For excluding penſioners and placemen from ſitting in the Houſe of Commons:

For ſubjecting each candidate for a ſeat in parliament to an oath, againſt his having uſed bribery, or any other illegal or unconſtitutional means of gaining his election:

For eſtabliſhing a more fair and equal repreſentation of the people in parliament:

For vindicating the injured rights of the freeholders of Middleſex, and, thro' them, of the whole body of electors in this united kingdom:

For reſtoring to our fellow-ſubjects the eſſential right of taxation by repreſentatives of their own free election, and for repealing the univerſal exciſe which has lately been ſubſtituted in the colonies inſtead of the laws of cuſtoms:

For repealing the four late iniquitous acts reſpecting America;—the Quebec act, eſtabliſhing Popery, and the arbitrary ſyſtem of French-Canadian laws, in that extenſive province; the Boſton port act; the act for altering the charter of the province of Maſſachuſet's-bay; and the act for the trial in Europe of perſons accuſed of criminal offences in America; being fully perſuaded that the paſſing ſuch acts will be of the utmoſt importance for the ſecurity of our excellent conſtitution, and the reſtoration of the rights and liberties of our fellow-ſubjects in America.

We do alſo ſolemnly promiſe, never to accept from the crown, or its miniſters, place, penſion, contract, title, gratuity, or emolument of any kind whatſoever; and we do farther promiſe to follow, on all occaſions, ſuch inſtructions as our conſtituents, in common hall aſſembled, ſhall think proper to give us."

The Lord Mayor Bull, and the Aldermen Croſby, Sawbridge, and Hayley, ſubſcribed the articles; but William Baker, Eſq; informed the livery, That it might appear extraordinary that he ſhould offer himſelf a candidate, and at the ſame refuſe to ſign their articles: he commented upon each article ſeparately, and objected to that one which obliges the candidate to vote for the expulſion of all placemen and penſioners, obſerving, that ſome men in office were neceſſary for the carrying on buſineſs; therefore, in his opinion, the number ought to be limited; that as to repealing the Quebec act, the Boſton port bill, the bill for regulating the government of Maſſachuſet's-bay, and the bill for trials of perſons in England accuſed of crimes in America, he thought they ought to be repealed; that he had given his vote againſt thoſe acts, yet he did not chuſe to be tied down in articles, as it was his firm opinion, that a member ſhould approach the doors of the Houſe of Commons free as the open air.

The chairman then put up Meſſ. Bull, Croſby, Sawbridge, and Hayley, ſeparately; and each had a great ſhew of hands, with many loud claps, huzza's, &c. Mr Baker was then nominated; and a few hands appeared for him, but many hiſſes. Mr Townſend nominated Richard Oliver, Eſq; on which there was groaning and hiſſing, but few hands held up. The chairman then declared the choice to have fallen on Meſſ. Bull, Croſby,

Crosby, Sawbridge, and Hayley; but Mr Baker said, he would stand the poll to the last. — John Roberts, Esq; was afterwards put in nomination.

Mr Baker soon after, published in the news-papers, an address to the livery, viz.

"GENTLEMEN,

An exception having been unjustly taken against me for declining to sign the engagement proposed at Guildhall on Monday last, and since published, I have a right to expect, that every gentleman who designs to vote at the ensuing election, would weigh with candour and impartiality those reasons for my conduct, which collectively you refused to hear.

Freedom of thought and freedom of speech are essential to the character of a free man: — liberty to discuss, deliberate, and decide, on every question which may arise in parliament, is a necessary privilege of every member who sits in that assembly. The propriety of great reformations in the laws and constitution, can only be determined by a full examination of the time, the manner, and the circumstances under which they are proposed. With what pretension then to independence can any man subscribe an engagement which precludes discussion, shuts his ears against all argument, and pledges him irrevocably to support or to oppose measures of which he knows neither the manner, the time, nor the circumstances? If the engagement is revocable, it is nugatory: — if binding, it cannot possibly apply to all the various exigencies which may arise, and may make a deviation from it in many instances necessary. But the subscriber has no alternative; his voice and private judgement thus tied up, are lost to the public at a time when his country may stand most in need of the assistance of both.

Truths clear in the abstract are not always maintainable in practice. The generality and indefinite extent of the engagement for the exclusion of placemen and pensioners, must put a stop to all parliamentary business whatsoever, and must fatally discourage all public merit, of which pensions have often been the honourable reward; — unless that fund of various knowledge necessary for legislation, that experience in many departments of business which official practice can alone confer, are to be caught by intuition, or the public treasure can be more properly applied, than in the reward of great and eminent services.

The engagements for shortening the duration of parliaments, — against bribery, — for promoting a fair and equal representation in parliament, — for vindicating the injured rights of the freeholders of Middlesex, — and for redressing the various grievances under which all America labours, contain matter of the most interesting nature, to which the attention of an honest parliament cannot too soon be applied. But they are all subject to the same unanswerable objection, That they contain a solemn obligation on the subscriber, not on any account to be departed from, to promote the several measures to which they refer: from which this strange solecism will follow, That what is thought right to be done in the present moment, must ever be so, however the circumstances of the times may vary.

It is unnecessary to pledge myself not to accept place, pension, contract, title, gratuity, or emolument, from the crown or its ministers, as I cannot condescend to solicit any thing from a court to which I have from principle acted in direct opposition.

Great attention is certainly due from a representative to the sense of his constituents fairly taken, and properly signified; but as I must preserve my own judgement free on all the subjects which may arise in parliament, I cannot with honour engage myself indefinitely and beforehand to the fulfilling of instructions which I do not know.

As this refusal arises from a sense of duty, which I cannot otherwise discharge with honesty, I trust it will not prejudice me in your opinion and confidence. In this assurance I continue to intreat the favour of your votes, interest, and poll, at the ensuing election.

I have the honour to be, &c.

London, Oct. 5. WILLIAM BAKER."

"Mr Baker's declining," says a writer in the papers of Oct. 8. "to subscribe implicitly to what a few artful and many misguided people call the "test of a candidate," so far from implying a falling off of principle, or want of real patriotism, does him the highest honour, and should warmly recommend him to the suffrages of his fellow-citizens on the present occasion; such a conduct shewing a firmness and integrity in the hour of expectation, that none but the most

moſt tried and unſhaken minds are equal to. We'll ſuppoſe, for inſtance, (and it is far from an improbable ſuppoſition), that circumſtances may ſo ariſe in the jumble of events, that many of thoſe injunctions demanded by the city-conſtituents may not only be impolitic, but ruinous to the liberties of this country. How can the livery of London expect their repreſentatives to act? Muſt your members of parliament, who have an opportunity of the cloſeſt inveſtigation of political ſubjects, entirely deprive themſelves of an opinion, and the right of judging? or muſt they occaſionally wait for a common hall to be inſtructed, on thoſe points, which neither place, time, nor opportunities, will permit ſo mixed a body of people to be judges of? Muſt your members ſign one teſt to-day and another to-morrow, and inſtead of confidential ſervants of the public, be treated in every reſpect like parliamentary puppets? For ſhame, ye independent liverymen of the city of London! recover yourſelves from ſuch an infatuation; and whilſt you expect the flame of liberty to glow in the breaſt of your repreſentatives, do not yourſelves ſet them the example of ſlavery! In ſhort, let the private and public character of each candidate be alone his teſt, and as he meaſures by this ſtandard, approve or reject his ſolicitations."

On Saturday, Oct. 8. the election came on at Guildhall. All the ſeven gentlemen before mentioned were put up; and the greateſt ſhew of hands appearing in favour of Meſſ. Bull, Croſby, Sawbridge, and Hayley, the ſheriffs declared the election accordingly. But a poll being demanded for the other candidates, it was immediately begun. It was continued every day (Sunday excepted) of next week, and was finally cloſed on Saturday, the numbers ſtanding thus. John Sawbridge 3456, George Hayley 3390, Richard Oliver 3354, Frederick Bull Lord Mayor 3096, William Baker 2802, Braſs Croſby 1913, John Roberts 1398; and at a common hall held Oct. 16. the ſheriffs declared the numbers on the poll to be in favour of Meſſ. Sawbridge, Hayley, Oliver, and Bull, and returned them duly elected accordingly.

Each of the four ſucceſsful candidates thanked the livery in a ſpeech; and Mr Baker addreſſed them in a long ſpeech; in which he told them, that he was a diſſenting candidate, as well as an unſucceſsful one: he inveighed a great deal againſt the mode of ſubſcribing articles for the rule of conduct for members of parliament, and ſaid it put them under ſuch reſtrictions as diſabled them to act as free repreſentatives: he ſaid, that many ſcurrilous reports had been propagated againſt him in the courſe of the election; that he heartily forgave the authors, and rather than make his election by ſuch manœuvres, he preferred his preſent ſituation; he obſerved, he did not mean to enter into a ſcrutiny on the preſent election, but ſaid, if hereafter he ſhould have the honour of a ſeat in the ſenate, he would endeavour to rectify ſome laws relative to city-elections.

In an addreſs to the Livery, dated Oct. 18. Mr Oliver ſays, "The manner in which you have elected me, whilſt it enhances greatly my own particular ſatisfaction, cannot fail to encourage the true friends of the public to perſevere ſteadily in the ſtraight path of their duty. I was always determined, Gentlemen, to be choſen in this manner, or not at all; and ſhould have eſteemed a defeat according to my principles, more honourable than ſucceſs by any other means. — My conduct in the laſt parliament, which was an unremitting and diligent oppoſition to the meaſures of adminiſtration, (which I could not approve, becauſe they were injurious to the public), excluded all expectation of ſupport from one ſet of men; and my conduct as an Alderman and a Liveryman, which has been as conſtant an oppoſition to the intereſted meaſures of a mercenary individual, (which I could not but abhor, becauſe they were ſtill more injurious to the public), held me out as an object of hatred to another ſet of well-meaning but deluded perſons, who ſeemed to have forgotten, that as an Alderman and a Liveryman I am not reſponſible to any man, and can honeſtly be directed only by my oath and my principles. — I will always continue entirely independent of the crown and its miniſters, unawed by fear, uninfluenced by any perſonal intereſt, regardleſs of the clamours of faction, and uncorrupted by the deſire of an ill-earned popularity; and will zealouſly oppoſe or ſupport all meaſures, from whatever quarter they may come, as they ſhall appear calculated for the diſadvantage or benefit of the people."

On

On Friday, Oct. 7. came on the election for Southampten. The candidates were, Lord Charles Montague, brother to the Duke of Manchester, Hans Stanley, and John Fleming, Esqs. Just before the poll opened, Lord Charles's agent read over to the candidates a paper for them to sign, of the same purport with that signed by the candidates for London. On which Mr Stanley said, That if he had approved every word contained in the paper, he should absolutely refuse to sign it; because it related to matters that would come to be proposed in parliament, where it was a rule, to debate first and to vote afterwards, and not to decide first and then afterwards to debate; which was the mode of conduct now proposed to him: That this alone was a sufficient answer; but that having nothing to disguise, he should add a very few words, rather upon the manner, than the matters, which, extending to almost every thing that ever had or had not passed in the House of Commons, would detain the electors much too long: That the only thing he saw in the paper strictly true, was the beginning of it, namely, that the city of London took the lead; for that indeed those who call themselves the city of London take the lead a great deal more than becomes them; that it was, however, equally true, that very few people followed that lead, and he believed still fewer would every day; none at all, he hoped, would at Southampton, where they had not the least pretence to dictate any thing whatever, be it right or be it wrong: That he had been always totally against shortening the duration of parliaments; and that nothing could shew more want of judgement than proposing to him to alter his opinion at a time so ill chosen as the present, when he was under the misfortune of having a controverted election; a circumstance which in no degree inclined him to become a convert to the other side of the question: That as this article might not be very palatable to all candidates, so that of a more equal representation of the people would not be relished by all electors, particularly in boroughs; he therefore thought the Bill of Rights judged this matter very ill, for that, upon the whole, the candidates they supported would lose more votes than they would gain by subscribing to this article. —— Mr Fleming declared he had no intention of subscribing this paper, or any other. -- Lord Charles declared himself ready to sign it. —— The poll was closed on the 8th; and came out, for Mr Stanley 356, Mr Fleming 303, Lord Charles 88.

"It is," says a writer in the London papers of Oct. 21. "a very gross, though a very favourite mistake, in this country, that the representatives of the people, instead of conscientiously promoting the interests of the nation to the utmost of their own judgements, are on all occasions to consult the wishes of their constituents. The celebrated Lord Chatham, whose name has been so triumphantly mentioned by the popular candidates for Westminster, refused, when member for Bath, to deliver the address of his constituents upon the late peace [xxv. 364], and his conduct was warmly admired by the most formidable opposition perhaps ever known in this kingdom. Nay more, this all-be-praised statesman, in his speech on the Spanish convention in the year 1770, told them, that during his administration, when the major part of the kingdom, with the city of London at its head, wanted to remove the wise Anson from the Admiralty [xxxii. 651.], he had fortitude enough to stem the torrent of popular phrenzy; "and I thank God, (added he), that, notwithstanding their utmost efforts to the contrary, I was able to force so essential a service upon the people."

On Monday, Oct. 10. Edmund Burke, Esq; was elected one of the representatives for Malton.

The election for Bristol came on, Oct. 10. The candidates were, Lord Clare, and Matthew Brickdale, Esq; the former members, and Henry Cruger, Esq; a merchant of Bristol. A poll was demanded; and came out, the first day, for Lord Clare 11, Mr Cruger 11, and Mr Brickdale 10. On which Lord Clare, who expected to be almost unanimously chosen, seemed to give it up. Another candidate, Edmund Burke, Esq; was then started: but a dispute arising as to the legality of naming a candidate after the poll was begun, the election was adjourned, that the opinion of counsel on the question might be obtained. Mr Burke's title was admitted; the poll went on; and in a day or two he appeared, and made the following speech.

"Gentlemen, I am come hither to solicit in person, that favour which my friends

friends have hitherto endeavoured to procure for me, by the moſt obliging, and to me the moſt honourable exertions.

I have ſo high an opinion of the great truſt which you have to confer on this occaſion, and, by long experience, ſo juſt a diffidence in my abilities, to fill it in a manner adequate even to my own ideas, that I ſhould never have ventured of myſelf to intrude into that awful ſituation. But ſince I am called upon by the deſire of ſeveral reſpectable fellow-ſubjects, as I have done at other times, I give up my fears to their wiſhes. Whatever my other deficiencies may be, I do not know what it is to be wanting to my friends.

I am not fond of attempting to raiſe public expectation by great promiſes. At this time there is much cauſe to conſider, and very little to preſume. We ſeem to be approaching to a great criſis in our affairs, which calls for the whole wiſdom of the wiſeſt among us, without being able to aſſure ourſelves, that any wiſdom can preſerve us from many and great inconveniences. You know I ſpeak of our unhappy conteſt with America. I confeſs it is a matter on which I look down as from a precipice. It is difficult in itſelf, and it is rendered more intricate by a great variety of plans of conduct. I do not mean to enter into them. I will not ſuſpect a want of good intention in framing them. But however pure the intentions of their authors may have been, we all know that the event has been unfortunate.

The means of recovering our affairs are not obvious. So many great queſtions of commerce, of finance, of conſtitution, and of policy, are involved in this American deliberation, that I dare engage for nothing, but that I ſhall give it, without any predilection to former opinions, or any ſiniſter bias whatſoever, the honeſt and impartial conſideration of which I am capable. The public has a full right to it; and this great city, a main pillar in the commercial intereſt of Great Britain, muſt totter on its baſe by the ſlighteſt miſtake with regard to our American meaſures. Thus much, however, I think it not amiſs to lay before you, that I am not, I hope, apt to take up or lay down my opinions lightly. I have held, and ever ſhall maintain, to the beſt of my power, unimpaired and undiminiſhed, the juſt, wiſe, and neceſſary conſtitutional ſuperiority of Great Britain. This is neceſſary for America, as well as for us. I never mean to depart from it. Whatever may be loſt by it, I avow it. The forfeiture even of your favour, if by ſuch a declaration I could forfeit it, though the firſt object of my ambition, never will make me diſguiſe my ſentiments on this ſubject.

But I have ever had a clear opinion, and have ever held a conſtant correſpondent conduct, that the ſuperiority is conſiſtent with all the liberties a ſober and ſpirited American ought to deſire. I never mean to put any coloniſt, or any human creature, in a ſituation not becoming a freeman. To reconcile Britiſh ſuperiority with American liberty, ſhall be my great object, as far as my little faculties extend. I am far from thinking that both, even yet, may not be preſerved.

When I firſt devoted myſelf to the public ſervice, I conſidered how I ſhould render myſelf fit for it; and this I did, by endeavouring to diſcover what it was that gave this country the rank it holds in the world. I found that our proſperity and dignity aroſe principally, if not ſolely, from two ſources, our conſtitution and commerce. Both theſe I have ſpared no ſtudy to underſtand, and no endeavour to ſupport.

The diſtinguiſhing part of our conſtitution is its liberty. To preſerve that liberty inviolate, ſeems the particular duty and proper truſt of a member of the Houſe of Commons. But the liberty, the only liberty I mean, is a liberty connected with order; that not only exiſts along with order and virtue, but which cannot exiſt at all without them. It inheres in good and ſteady government, as in its ſubſtance and vital principle.

The other ſource of our power is commerce, of which you are ſo large a part, and which cannot exiſt, no more than your liberty, without a connection with many virtues. It has ever been a very particular and a very favourite object of my ſtudy, in its principles, and its details. I think many here are acquainted with the truth of what I ſay. This I know, that I have ever had my houſe open, and my poor ſervices ready, for traders and manufacturers of every denomination. My favourite ambition is to have thoſe ſervices acknowledged. I now appear before you to make trial, whether my earneſt endeavours have been ſo wholly oppreſſed by the weakneſs of my

my abilities, as to be rendered inſignificant in the eyes of a great trading city; or whether you chuſe to give a weight to humble abilities, for the ſake of the honeſt exertions with which they are accompanied. This is my trial to-day. My induſtry is not on trial; of my induſtry I am ſure, as far as my conſtitution of mind and body admitted.

When I was invited by many reſpectable merchants, freeholders, and freemen of this city, to offer them my ſervices, I had juſt received the honour of an election at another place, at a very great diſtance from this. I immediately opened the matter to thoſe of my worthy conſtituents who were with me, and they unanimouſly adviſed me not to decline it; that they had elected me with a view to the public ſervice; and that as great queſtions relative to our commerce and colonies were imminent, that in ſuch matters I might derive authority and ſupport from the repreſentation of this great commercial city; they deſired me therefore to ſet off without delay, very well perſuaded that I never could forget my obligations to them, or to my friends, for the choice they had made of me. From that time to this inſtant I have not ſlept; and if I ſhould have the honour of being freely choſen by you, I hope I ſhall be as far from ſlumbering or ſleeping when your ſervice requires me to be awake, as I have been in coming to offer myſelf a candidate for your favour."

The poll was continued till Nov. 2. on which day it was finally cloſed, the numbers being, for Cruger 3565, Burke 2707, Brickdale 2456, Lord Clare 283. Next day Meſſ. Cruger and Burke were declared duly elected.

Speeches were made by the candidates. — Moſt part of Mr Burke's was employed in defence of the rights of many of his voters, which had been called in queſtion by the counſel for his opponent. After which he proceeded thus.

"I am ſorry I cannot conclude without ſaying a word on a topic touched upon by my worthy colleague. I wiſh that topic had been paſſed by at a time when we have ſo little leiſure to diſcuſs it: but ſince he has thought proper to throw it out, I owe you a clear explanation of my poor ſentiments on the ſubject.

He tells you, that "the topic of inſtructions has occaſioned much altercation and uneaſineſs in this city;" and he expreſſes himſelf (if I underſtand him right) in favour of the coercive authority of ſuch inſtructions.

Certainly, Gentlemen, it ought to be the happineſs and glory of a repreſentative to live in the ſtricteſt union, the cloſeſt correſpondence, and the moſt unreſerved communication, with his conſtituents. Their wiſhes ought to have great weight with him; their opinions high reſpect; their buſineſs unremitted attention. It is his duty to ſacrifice his repoſe, his pleaſure, his ſatisfactions to theirs; and above all, ever and in all caſes, to prefer their intereſt to his own. But his unbiaſſed opinion, his mature judgement, his enlightened conſcience, he ought not to ſacrifice to you, to any man, or any ſet of men living. Theſe he does not derive from your pleaſure; no, nor from the law and the conſtitution. They are a truſt from Providence, for the abuſe of which he is deeply anſwerable. Your repreſentative owes you not his induſtry only, but his judgement; and he betrays, inſtead of ſerving you, if he ſacrifices it to your opinion.

My worthy colleague ſays, "His will ought to be ſubſervient to yours." If that be all, the thing is innocent. If government were a matter of will upon any ſide, yours, without queſtion, ought to be ſuperior. But government and legiſlation are matters of reaſon and judgement, and not of inclination: and what ſort of reaſon is that, in which the determination precedes the diſcuſſion; in which one ſet of men deliberate, and another decide; and where thoſe who form the concluſion, are perhaps three hundred miles diſtant from thoſe who hear the arguments?

To deliver an opinion is the right of all men; that of conſtituents is a weighty and reſpectable opinion, which a repreſentative ought always to rejoice to hear, and which he ought always moſt ſeriouſly to conſider. But authoritative inſtructions, mandates iſſued which the member is bound blindly and implicitly to obey, to vote, and to argue for, though contrary to the cleareſt conviction of his judgement and conſcience; theſe are things utterly unknown to the laws of this land, and which ariſe from a fundamental miſtake of the whole order and tenor of our conſtitution.

Parliament is not a congreſs of ambaſſadors from different and hoſtile inte-

reſts, which intereſts each muſt maintain, as an agent and advocate, againſt other agents and advocates; but parliament is a deliberative aſſembly of one nation, with one intereſt, that of the whole; where, not local purpoſes, not local prejudices, ought to guide, but the general good, reſulting from the general reaſon of the whole. You chuſe a member indeed, but when you have choſen him, he is not member of Briſtol, but he is a member of parliament. If the local conſtituent ſhould have an intereſt, or ſhould form an haſty opinion, evidently oppoſite to the real good of the reſt of the community, the member for that place ought to be as far as any other from any endeavour to give it effect. I beg pardon for ſaying ſo much on this ſubject; I have been unwillingly drawn into it; but I ſhall ever uſe a reſpectful frankneſs of communication with you. Your faithful friend, your devoted ſervant, I ſhall be to the end of my life: a flatterer you do not wish for. On this point of inſtructions, however, I think it ſcarcely poſſible we ever can have any ſort of difference. Perhaps I may give you too much, rather than too little, trouble.

From the firſt hour I was encouraged to court your favour, to this happy day of obtaining it, I have never promiſed you any thing but humble and perſevering endeavours to do my duty. The weight of that duty, I confeſs, makes me tremble; and whoever well conſiders what it is, of all things in the world will fly from what has the leaſt likeneſs to a poſitive and precipitate engagement. To be a good member of parliament, is, let me tell you, no eaſy taſk; eſpecially at this time, when there is ſo ſtrong a diſpoſition to run into the perilous extremes of ſervile compliance, or wild popularity. To unite circumſpection with vigour is abſolutely neceſſary; but it is extremely difficult. We are now members for a rich commercial city; this city, however, is but a part of a rich commercial nation, the intereſts of which are various, multiform, and intricate. We are members for that great nation, which, however, is itſelf but part of a great empire, extended by our virtue and our fortune to the fartheſt limits of the Eaſt and of the Weſt. All theſe wide-ſpread intereſts muſt be conſidered, muſt be compared, muſt be reconciled, if poſſible. We are members for a free country, and ſurely we all know that the machine of a free conſtitution is no ſimple thing, but as intricate and delicate as it is valuable. We are members in a great and ancient monarchy, and we muſt preſerve religiouſly the true legal rights of the ſovereign, which form the key-ſtone that binds together the noble and well-conſtructed arch of our empire and our conſtitution. A conſtitution made up of balanced powers, muſt ever be a critical thing: as ſuch I mean to touch that part of it which comes within my reach. I know my inability, and I wiſh for ſupport from every quarter. In particular, I ſhall aim at the friendſhip, and ſhall cultivate the beſt correſpondence of the worthy colleague you have given me.

I trouble you no farther than once more to thank you all; you, Gentlemen, for your favours; the Candidates, for their temperate and polite behaviour; and the Sheriffs, for a conduct which may give a model for all who are in public ſtations."

SCOTLAND.

The magiſtrates and town-council of Edinburgh, after their election, Oct. 4. dined together, as uſual, went to Leith, and then ſupped with the Lord Provoſt, at his houſe in town. The accounts of the diſſolution of the parliament had been received but a day or two before; and it appears, that it had been previouſly concerted, to determine, at this meeting, who ſhould be repreſentative for the city in the enſuing parliament. With this view, after ſupper, a letter, ready wrote out, was produced, in order to be ſigned by every member; of which the following is a copy.

"To Sir LAURENCE DUNDAS, Bt.

SIR, *Edinburgh, Oct.* 4. 1774.

We take the earlieſt opportunity, after our election, to expreſs our entire approbation of your conduct as repreſentative in parliament for this city; and to deſire, that you will ſtand candidate at the enſuing general election, on which you ſhall be ſupported by our votes and intereſt. We have the honour to be, Sir, your moſt humble ſervants."

This letter was ſigned by all the company, except two extraordinary deacons, David Stewart ſkinner, and Robert Kinloch furrier. A third deacon, Hampden Predie waulker, though he ſigned the letter, afterwards refuſed. But a loud cry

cry was raiſed againſt the meaſure: ſome of the incorporations met, to conſider of the conduct of their repreſentatives in ſigning the letter; which iſſued in thanks, or cenſure, according as the friends or enemies of the council were moſt numerous.

At a meeting of the town-council on Monday, Oct. 10. to fix the day for the election of the city-member, the Thurſday following was appointed for that purpoſe. —— At the ſame time an offer of his ſervice was made them by David Loch of Over-Carnbie, late merchant in Leith, now in Edinburgh, author of Letters concerning the trade and manufactures of Scotland [390.], by the following addreſs.

"My Lord, and Gentlemen,

In electing a member to repreſent this ancient metropolis, I know you to be incapable of entertaining any other views but what regard the intereſt of your country; and it is your reputation for honour, integrity, and genuine patriotiſm, that alone emboldens me to make this application. Vain indeed would have been my attempt, if you, my Lord, and your truly Honourable Council, had been actuated by thoſe corrupt motives which diſgrace too many of the royal boroughs of this kingdom: but let it be remembered, to the glory of Scotland, that in an age of bribery, perjury, and venality, the city of Edinburgh ſtill retained its ancient virtue and political freedom. Let it be recorded, that in the year 1774, when corruption had become almoſt univerſal, the inhabitants of Edinburgh were ſo thoroughly convinced of the uprightneſs and public ſpirit of its magiſtrates and council, that a man of ſmall fortune, a trading burgeſs of the town, was not afraid to enter the liſts againſt a man of great political intereſt, and poſſeſſed of immenſe wealth.

As I have the honour of a perſonal acquaintance with the whole electors, to uſe any other recommendation than their own unbiaſſed opinion of my abilities to ſerve them in parliament, would be an affront to their underſtanding. You know, that for theſe thirty years I have carried on an extenſive trade at your port of Leith. During ſo long experience, I may, without vanity, be allowed to have acquired ſome little knowledge in the trade, commerce, and manufactures of Scotland, more particularly of thoſe branches which are carried on in and about this city. At this critical æra, when the prices of corn, and of the other neceſſaries of life, are ſo high, and trade and manufactures of every kind are in ſuch a declining ſtate, it is of the utmoſt importance to elect ſuch repreſentatives as are well acquainted with the ſtaple trade of their country, and with every thing which can affect the prices of proviſions.

Now, Gentlemen, if you are pleaſed to give me the honour of your ſuffrages, I will diſcover a plan, which will, at the ſame time, reduce the price of corn and every other proviſion, and increaſe the trade and manufactures of Scotland; a plan not built upon a chimerical theory, but conſtructed on ſure and permanent principles. This plan I will enforce in parliament *.

I ſhall never be afraid to deliver my ſentiments, or to take part in any debate where trade and commerce are the ſubjects; and while I abhor that licentious ſpirit which of late has aſſumed the name of *patriotiſm*, you may reſt aſſured; that I will never accept of place or penſion without your approbation: at the ſame time I will not wantonly clog the wheels of government by voting againſt the miniſter, unleſs I am clearly ſatisfied, that the meaſures he wants to adopt are eſſentially wrong.

To theſe principles I ſhall ſteadily adhere, and ſhall always adviſe my conſti-

* [In the Caledonian Mercury of Oct. 24. a Scots gentleman at London, Oct. 20. writes, "I am ſorry Mr Loch's patriotiſm does not lead him to make an immediate diſcovery of a ſcheme fraught with ſuch advantage to his country." —— In the next paper, that of Oct. 26. Mr Loch anſwers, by referring to a collection of letters publiſhed by him [390.]; adding, "The gentlemen who were members laſt parliament, were at much pains to get the greateſt quantity of flour out of one quarter of wheat: but that was working among the branches of the tree; the evil muſt be taken from the root. Reduce the price of corn, the bread will fall in proportion: and I do aver, that allowing good wholeſome ſpirits to be imported on a moderate duty, is the ſure means to attain this moſt deſireable end; for as our people will have ſpirits, they will riſk their all rather than want them; and both ſmall and large ſtills will be uſed in ſpite of all the laws and penalties which can be inflicted by our conſtitution."

tuents concerning every material article that happens to be ſubmitted to the conſideration of parliament. I am, &c.

DAVID LOCH."

In the evening of Wedneſday, or in the morning of Thurſday the day of election, Capt. James-Francis Erſkine of Forreſt, a younger ſon of the family of Mar, ſent a copy of an addreſs to every member of the town-council, viz.

"To the Lord Provoſt, Magiſtrates, and Town-council of Edinburgh.

My Lord Provoſt, and Gentlemen,

I was in hopes that ſome man of more weight and conſequence than myſelf, would, before this time, have offered you his ſervices. But the election coming on to-morrow, and no perſon having appeared but Mr David Loch, and your late repreſentative, the latter of whom chuſes you ſhould ſolicit him, rather than that he ſhould ſolicit you, I take the liberty of aſking your votes and intereſt on this occaſion.

I am ſenſible there are many gentlemen who have far better pretenſions to this honour than I can claim; and I ſhould never have given you the trouble of this application, if any proper attempt had been made to reſcue the capital of Scotland from the ignominy of being dictated to by the agents of Sir Laurence Dundas.

If I am judged worthy of this important truſt, I ſhall execute it, as far as in me lies, with fidelity, and with honour. The intereſt of my country in general, and of this city in particular, ſhall be my only rule of conduct. If any law ſhould be propoſed in the enſuing parliament affecting the city of Edinburgh, you may depend on having the earlieſt intelligence of it from *myſelf*.

I will never hold out offices, either *ſpiritual* or civil, as bribes to others, for committing a breach of truſt; nor will I put it into the power of any man to accuſe me of a breach of faith. It is my firm opinion, that, whoever is capable of acting in this manner, is totally unworthy of repreſenting this city, or indeed any part of the kingdom.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Oct. 12. JS-FR. ERSKINE.

According to appointment, the council met, on Thurſday, Oct. 13. about one o'clock, to elect the city-member. Sir Laurence Dundas was named as a proper perſon. But he was objected to, and a proteſt entered againſt him, by the three recuſant deacons, as diſqualified, by having been guilty of bribery and corruption; in proof of which a notorial copy of a letter wrote by Sir Laurence to one of his political agents, relating to the boroughs of Dunfermline, Inverkeithing, &c. was produced, of the tenor following.

"SIR, *Arlington-ſtreet, 2d May*, 1774.

I received a letter from Colonel Maſterton, dated the 27th April, with one of yours incloſed. I notice what you ſay to him concerning the ſituation of theſe towns: he cannot ſtir about himſelf; ſo you muſt be the more active in aſſiſting him. You muſt not be outbidden at any of theſe places; but, where you find things neceſſary, do them. I notice what you ſay of 100l. being lodged with Mr Brown, to diſtribute as he thought beſt; for that Taylor was diſtributing the Indian gold. I deſire that you will draw upon me for this hundred, and lodge it with Mr Brown; and do ſame at Inverkeithing, if neceſſary. Can you truſt the Mr William Scotland you mention in your letter? If you think ſo, employ him; for I ſee we muſt have more than one perſon: ſo find out a confidential one, and let him be conſtantly going from one town to another. I deſire you will go, upon receipt of this, to the Ferry; give them a good dinner; and if you can ſecure any wavering perſon, don't come away without doing, coſt what it will. When you are there, wait on Bailie Stewart: tell him, it is not Colonel Maſterton, but it is me, that is in the queſtion; and that I ſhall take it as a moſt particular favour, if he will declare for Maſterton as my friend. I know he intends to do ſo; but the ſooner he does ſo, the better; and that I ſhall, with great readineſs, ſhew him every return I can. I have wrote the Colonel, that the two deacons of Dunfermline muſt be ſecured. If they are not, I deſire you will acquaint the Colonel, that it muſt be done, and, if neceſſary, you will come to him, and concert a plan for doing it. I have given him full powers to ſecure a majority every where; ſo pray conſult with him how it is to be done, and don't be outbidden any where. I am, Sir, your humble ſervant,

LAU. DUNDAS.

P. S. Colonel Campbell ſets out this week; ſo don't you loſe time. Send the incloſed by expreſs to the Colonel."

By the ſtatute 2° Geo. II. cap. 24. § 7. it is enacted, "That every perſon who aſks, receives, or takes any money or reward, by way of gift, loan, or otherwiſe, or agrees or contracts for any money, gift, office, employment, or other reward whatſoever, to give his vote, or to refuſe or forbear to give his vote, in any election of a member to ſerve in parliament, or who, by himſelf, or any perſon employed by him, doth, or ſhall, by any gift or reward, or by any promiſe, agreement, or ſecurity for any gift or reward, corrupt, or procure any perſon to give his vote, or forbear to give his vote, in ſuch elections, ſhall, for every ſuch offence, forfeit the ſum of 500 l. of lawful money of G. Britain, to be recovered, together with full coſts of ſuit, by ſummary action or complaint before the court of ſeſſion, or by proſecution before the court of juſticiary; and from and after judgement obtained againſt him in ſuch ſummary action or proſecution, or his being otherwiſe lawfully convicted thereof, ſhall for ever be diſabled to vote in the election of a member to ſerve in parliament, and ſhall alſo be diſabled to hold, exerciſe, or enjoy any office or franchiſe, to which he then ſhall, or at any time afterwards may, be intitled, as a member of any city, borough, town-corporate, or cinque-port, as if he were naturally dead."

Sir Laurence's letter, above inſerted, embarraſſed the electors, and protracted the buſineſs. It is ſaid, that, after ſome delay, advice was procured; in conſequence of which, Mr Stoddart, the lately-elected Lord Provoſt, was made a candidate: and the votes came out, for Sir Laurence 23, for Provoſt Stoddart 6, and for Capt. Erſkine 3. One member of the council, Provoſt Laurie, was abſent. — Provoſt Stoddart then proteſted, that Sir Laurence was duly elected, and directed the clerk to make out the return in his favour. Mr Loch, on the other hand, entered a proteſt againſt the election, as brought about by undue influence, &c.

This election has given occaſion to much diſpute, both within doors and without, in converſation and in print: the oppoſition were loudeſt.

On production of Sir Laurence's letter, Deacon Kinloch was aſked, How he came by it? He anſwered, That he received it from Capt. James-Francis Erſkine. — It was alledged by thoſe in the oppoſition, That it was a proſtitution of the honour of the city, to ſolicit Sir Laurence, as if the city received honour by his acceptance; that the entering into a written concert to vote for a certain candidate before the election, was an illegal combination, as it diſabled the ſubſcribers to vote for one more worthy, if ſuch a one ſhould offer; that the ſigning of this diſhonourable letter was obtained in a very undue manner, by two or three leaders in the council, when all the company were in a ſtate of intoxication; that the candidate to whom they had thus illegally bound themſelves, was now found, by authentic evidence under his own hand, to have been guilty of groſs bribery and corruption, which abſolutely diſqualified him from electing, or being elected, a member of parliament; and that an election of him in ſuch circumſtances muſt be null. — It was, on the other hand, ſaid in juſtification of the council, That ſuch an invitation as that given to Sir Laurence was in no wiſe diſhonourable nor unprecedented [xxix. 556.], and was productive of peace; that it was very prudent, and very uſual, to fix on a proper perſon before the election; that the letter produced at the election, had no addreſs (the cover in which it was incloſed having it ſeems not been got), ſo was incomplete, and not to be regarded; that it was upon a conviction, not upon a ſuſpicion, or an accuſation, that forfeitures and diſabilities were incurred; that ſuppoſing the writing produced to be authentic, it amounted to only an attempt to bribe, which cannot ſubject to penalties and diſabilities, unleſs the attempt be carried into execution; that of the two candidates in the oppoſition, one was a reduced burgeſs, and the other no burgeſs at all; that it was ſhrewdly to be ſuſpected the means by which the latter procured his antagoniſt's letter were not the moſt honourable; and that a challenge from him for corruption would come with a bad grace; referring, in proof of the laſt obſervation, to a tranſaction in which bribery was not only intended, but actually carried into execution, viz. — "*Dunfermline, Oct.* 13. 1774. This being the day fixed for electing a delegate of this borough, the council, by appointment, aſſembled by eleven fore-

forenoon; when the friends of Col. Mafterton and Col. Campbell being promiſcuouſly met in council, the former made choice of Provoſt John Wilſon as delegate for this borough againſt the general election, and the latter made choice of Mr John Maclaurin Advocate. Prior to calling the votes, the oaths againſt bribery and corruption were put to the members of council ſeparately; and particularly, the oath being put to James Kinloch, deacon of the butchers, upon being aſked upon oath, If he had received any ſum or ſums of money, gratuity, or reward? he anſwered negatively; but, upon recollection, ſaid, That his wife had told him, that ſhe had received from the hands of Capt. James-Francis Erſkine two five-pound notes, which he was then ignorant of; but although he was now informed of it, it ſhould have no influence upon him in this day's election."

Sir Laurence Dundas arrived at Edinburgh on Tueſday, Oct. 18. Next day he waited of the magiſtrates in the council-chamber, and was received as the city-member. He was then entertained by them in a tavern, at the city's expence.

A correſpondent obſerves, that as bribery and corruption, and undue influence in various ſhapes, prevails ſo generally in our elections, it were to be wiſhed, that our Scottiſh patriots, inſtead of waſting their ſtrength in empty and unavailing words, would form themſelves into a ſociety, for proſecuting all ſuch delinquents, without favour or friendſhip. Though many of the delinquents are opulent; yet (ſays he) the ſociety would be too hard for any one of them: and there is no hazard of their uniting in a joint defence; for they are often at open war. This would give effect to our laws, and real patriots would be choſen by the free ſuffrages of the electors in counties and boroughs.

"*Orkney, Sept.* 10. Yeſterday ſailed from Stromneſs, the Marlborough of Whitby, Preſwick, for Savanna, in Georgia, with about 80 emigrants on board; of whom 25 imbarked at Whitby, and the remaining 55 are all from Orkney. This is the firſt ſhip that has ſtept here purpoſely for emigrants. Though Georgia is not thought a favourable climate, yet Mr Jonas Brown, the owner of the ſhip, would have got three times the number, if he had had occaſion for them."

MARRIAGES.

"*Copenhagen, Oct.* 21. This evening the marriage of his R. H. Prince Frederick, with the Princeſs Sophia Frederica of Mecklenburg-Schwein, was celebrated in the chapel of the palace of Chriſtianſburg." *Lond gaz.*

17. At Annsfield, the ſeat of Capt. James Gilchriſt, of the royal navy, Lord Cochran, eldeſt ſon of the Earl of Dundonald, to Miſs Anne Gilchriſt, ſecond daughter of Capt. Gilchriſt.

25. Lord Viſcount Gormanſton, to Miſs Robinſon, daughter of the late John Robinſon, Eſq, of Denſton-hall, in Suffolk.

BIRTHS.

"*Paris, Sept.* 12. The wife of Mr Peerron, a ſcriviner in Montpellier, was lately delivered of a child with the ſmall pox upon it, in full ſuppuration; which, if true, proves that it is poſſible to have that diſorder before birth." [xxxiv. 416.]

Oct. 5. The Counteſs of Dartmouth, of a daughter, her Ladyſhip's fifth child.

15. At Mr Lockhart's ſeat of Dryden, near Edinburgh, Mrs Lockhart of Carnwath, of a daughter.

22. The Counteſs of Cornwallis, of a ſon.

DEATHS.

Aug. 21. In Spaniſhtown, Jamaica, John Robertſon, Eſq; Secretary to the Governor of that iſland.

Sept. 21. At Rome, the Pope, Clement XIV. His name was Francis Laurentius Ganganelli. He was born in October 1705, and elected to the Papacy, May 19. 1769, when he aſſumed the name of Clement XIV. [xxxi. 326.—— His death, it is ſaid, was haſtened by the Jeſuits, who poiſoned him in the ſacrament. He himſelf declared his ſuſpicions before he died; and the belief of it is ſo general, even in the Catholic countries, that the miniſters of France and Spain inſiſted on being preſent at the opening of his body, his belly having ſwelled extraordinarily, and being ſtrangely diſcoloured, even before he expired. The corpſe putrified ſo ſuddenly, that the ſurgeons could hardly go through the operation; and, as ſoon as they touched the head, the teeth fell out, and all the bones of his body crumbled away, and the fleſh came away in pieces. They were forced to embalm the body twice, before they could carry it to St Peter's; and inſtead of expoſing his face, as uſual, they covered it with wax; and in carrying him, the head ſeparated from the body. His confectioner is dead in a manner little leſs horrid, and with the ſame ſymptoms that his Holineſs had. —— See the form of electing a Pope, Mag. 1769, p. 193.

28. In Sicily, the Earl of Morton. By his lady, who is couſin to the Earl of Hadinton,

dinton, and was at Naples when he died, his Lordſhip has left two ſons.

At Elgin, Robert Innes, a glover, aged 101.

Oct. 1. At Edinburgh, Lady Katharine Drummond, wife of Adam Drummond of Megginch, Eſq; and ſiſter to the Duke of Bolton.

3. At Edinburgh, Mrs Stuart of Aſcogg, a maiden lady, aged 71.

11. At Pitmedden, Sir William Seton, Bt.

12. Widow Benoitre, a French lady of diſtinction, who diſtributed twenty ſhillings weekly in charity to the poor about Spital-fields.

12. At Edinburgh, George Fraſer, Eſq; deputy-auditor of exciſe, aged 73. He held that office for upwards of fifty years.

16. At London, Charles Lanoe, Eſq; major to the firſt troop of horſe-guards.

16. At Grange, Aberdeenſhire, Mr Archibald Campbell, miniſter of that pariſh, aged 69.

17. At Edinburgh, Mr Robert Fergusſon, author of a collection of poems [xxxiv. 672.], and of ſeveral others, moſtly entertaining, and in the Scottiſh language.

17. At Chelſea, Col. Owen.

At London, Mr Benjamin Houſton, aged 103.

19. At Edinburgh, Mr Archibald Buchan, writer.

At Wiggington, in Warwickſhire, one Archer, aged 109.

23. At Edinburgh, Mr George Reid, late merchant in that city.

24. At Bothwell-caſtle, the Ducheſs of Douglas.

24. At Aberdeen, in the 73d year of his age, Mr William Smith, a miniſter of the Epiſcopal church of Scotland.

27. At Fairnington, Mr George Rutherford of Fairnington, writer to the ſignet.

At Annan, aged 87, John Johnſton, Eſq; of Gallabanks.

28. At his Lordſhip's ſeat, near Worceſter, Dr John Ewer, Biſhop of Bangor.

30. At London, Dr John Williſon, of Madeira, phyſician, late ſurgeon-apothecary in Edinburgh.

31. At his ſeat in Worceſterſhire, Lord Viſcount Wentworth

P.S. Nov. 5. At Dunkeld, in the 46th year of his age, John Murray, Duke of Athol, Marquis of Tullibardine, &c. generally and juſtly lamented. —— His Grace was the eldeſt ſon of Lord George Murray, brother of James Duke of Athol. On the 23d of October 1753, his Grace, then Mr Murray, married Lady Charlotte, the only child of Duke James. In 1761, he was elected repreſentative in parliament for the county of Perth. On the death of Duke James, his uncle and father-in-law, in January 1764 [xxv. 695.], it was thought neceſſary for Mr Murray, on account of the attainder of his father [viii. 269.], who had died in October 1760, to preſent a petition to the King, claiming the title and dignity of *Duke of Athol*, &c.; which petition having been by his Majeſty referred to the Houſe of Peers, their Lordſhips ſuſtained the claim; and their judgement was approved of by the King, Mr Murray then had the honour to kiſs his Majeſty's hand as Duke of Athol [xxvi. 107.]. In 1765 their Graces ſold to the crown of Great Britain the Iſle of Man; of which tranſaction our readers have a full account [xxvii. Index, *Man*]. In 1766, his Grace, on the death of the Earl of Sutherland, was unanimouſly elected one of the ſixteen repreſentatives of the Peerage of Scotland in parliament. He was re-elected at the general election in 1768; and had he lived, would probably have been continued at the enſuing election. In 1767 [xxix 671.] his Grace was created a Knight of the Thiſtle. — His Grace has left five ſons and four daughters, viz. John, (now Duke, born June 30. 1755), Lords George, William, Harry, and Charles, and Ladies Charlotte, Amelia, Jane, and Mary; beſides two ſons dead, James and George, who were born between the Duke and Lord George.

PREFERMENTS.

From the London Gazette.

The King has been pleaſed,

Oct. 1. to recommend the Rev. John Thomas, LL.D. and Dean of Weſtminſter, to be elected Biſhop of Rocheſter, in the room of Dr Zachary Pearce, deceaſed.

22. to appoint Clement Richardſon, Eſq; to be his Majeſty's Conſul at Cagliari in Sardinia.

24. to authoriſe and require Richard Earl of Scarborough, Deputy Earl Marſhal of England, to create John Ives the younger, Eſq; a Herald at Arms Extraordinary, by the title of *Suffolk Herald*.

26. and 29. to grant the dignity of a Baronet of G. Britain to each of the following four gentlemen, viz.

Philip Jennings Clerke, of Duddleſton Hall, in the county of Salop, Eſq;

Sir Clifton Wintringham, Kt, of Doverſtreet, in the pariſh of St George, Hanover ſquare, and to his heirs-male; and in default thereof, to Jarvis Clifton, Eſq; ſecond ſon of Sir Jarvis Clifton, Bt, of Clifton, in the county of Nottingham;

John Duntze, of Tiverton, in the county of Devon, Eſq; and,

William Pepperell, of Boſton, in the province of Maſſachuſets in America, Eſq;

War-office, Oct. 17. 1774.

Royals, 1ſt bat. Capt. Maximilian Faviere

is appointed to be Major, vice Thomas Fraſer, preferred; by purchaſe.

Ditto: Capt. Frederick Falkener to be Captain, vice Maximilian Faviere; by purchaſe.

Ditto: Lieut. William Kingſmill to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice Frederick Falkener; by purchaſe.

Ditto: Enſ. George M'Murdo to be Lieutenant, vice William Kingſmill; by purchaſe.

Ditto: James Corbet, Gent. to be Enſign, vice George M'Murdo; by purchaſe.

Ditto: Enſ. Robert Arburthnott to be Lieutenant, vice Charles Watts, who retires on halfpay.

Ditto: Adj. William Oliver Grace, from halfpay, to be Enſign, vice Robert Arburthnott.

5th reg. of foot: Enſ. Brett Chambers to be Lieutenant, vice Robert Palmer, deceaſed.

Ditto: Burton Gage Burbut, Gent. to be Enſign, vice Brett Chambers.

Ditto: Lieut. Thomas Baker to be Quartermaſter, vice Robert Palmer, deceaſed.

36th reg. of foot: Enſ. Richard Kearney to be Lieutenant, vice Edward Fitzgerald; by purchaſe.

Ditto: James Mounſey, Gent. to be Enſign, vice Richard Kearney; by purchaſe.

Ditto: Enſ. Francis Peirſon to be Lieutenant, vice Clotworthy Dobbin; by purchaſe.

Maj. Charles Chapman, of the late 96th regiment of foot, to be Lieutenant-Colonel in the army.

From other papers, &c.

John Wilkes, Eſq; Lord Mayor of London —— The election came on at Guildhall on Michaelmas day, Sept. 30. The Aldermen Halifax, Shakeſpeare, Eſdaile, Kennet, Wilkes, Sawbridge, Oliver, Lewes, and Bull (the preſent Lord Mayor), were ſeverally offered; and the ſheriffs declared the election to be in favour of the Lord Mayor and Mr Wilkes. A poll was however demanded in favour of Sir James Eſdaile, and Brackley Kennet, Eſq; which was forthwith begun, and was finally cloſed on the 6th of October, the numbers coming out, for Ald. Wilkes 1957, the Lord Mayor 1923, Sir James Eſdaile 1474, and Ald. Kennet 1419. At a common hall called for the purpoſe, Oct. 8 the numbers were declared; and Mr Wilkes and the Lord Mayor being returned to the court of aldermen, Mr Wilkes was choſen; for whom there were eleven votes, and for the Lord Mayor only three. —— Mr Wilkes being inveſted with the uſual *inſignia* of office, addreſſed the common hall as follows:

"GENTLEMEN, Permit me to return you my moſt hearty thanks for the greateſt honour a ſubject can receive, the being called by the voice of free citizens to the chief magiſtracy of the metropolis of the Britiſh empire. The firſt idea which muſt ariſe in a liberal mind is, that the important and extenſive powers and authority with which I am now intruſted by you, are delegated to me only for your good, and the general benefit. You have enlarged my powers of being uſeful to you, and conſtituted me the firſt guardian of our common rights and franchiſes. Give me leave to aſſure you, that ſo far from harbouring the impious thought of invading your liberties myſelf, I ſhall think it my duty always firmly and boldly to ſtand forth againſt the enemies of public and legal freedom. In this noble cauſe I will moſt readily join you, and in all ſalutary meaſures for the preſervation or improvement of the conſtitution of our country, and for the welfare of the capital. I ſhall therefore moſt chearfully call common halls and common councils on all important occaſions at your requiſition.

Gentlemen of the LIVERY, As chief magiſtrate of the firſt city in the world, I promiſe you an upright and regular adminiſtration of the public juſtice; and I rely with confidence on your favourable acceptance of my ſincere and zealous endeavours in your ſervice."

Prices of grain at Haddington, Nov. 11. 1774.

	Beſt.	*Second.*	*Third.*
Wheat,	21 s. 0 d.	19 s. 0 d.	18 s. 0 d.
Bear,	18 s. 0 d.	16 s. 6½d.	15 s. 9 d.
Oats,	12 s. 6 d.	11 s. 8 d.	10 s. 0 d.
Peaſe,	15 s. 0 d.	14 s. 0 d.	12 s. 6 d.

Edinburgh Nov. 22. 1774. Oat-meal, 1s. Bear-meal, 7d. 2f. Peaſe-meal, 8 d.

The Edinburgh bill of burials for October 1774.

Within the city	Males 29	62		110. Incr. 3.
	Fem. 33			
In the Weſt-kirk-yard	Males 26	48		
	Fem. 22			

Age.			No.	Diſeaſes.	No.
Under		2	38	Aged ——	7
Between	2 &	5	16	Apoplexy ——	1
	5 &	10	1	Chincough ——	4
	10 &	20	6	Conſumption ——	16
	20 &	30	4	Fever ——	46
	30 &	40	10	Small pox ——	20
	40 &	50	7	Stillborn ——	6
	50 &	60	3	Suddenly ——	1
	60 &	70	6	Teething ——	6
	70 &	80	4	Weakneſs ——	2
	80 &	90	6	Water in head —	1
	90 &	100	0		